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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

No. 2692

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DAILY SHORTAGES OF FOOD, NECESSITIES PLAGUE POPULATION

Three-Year Wait For Sunglasses

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Joao Serra: "I Am a Nobrega Customer"]

[Excerpts] I have been a Nobrega customer for more than 3 years. Every week I stop by there to chat.

How many customers does Nobrega have who are so devoted, interested and understanding as this humble chronicler who really needs a pair of sunglasses for the coming season of hot weather, which is now very near?

For I have been calling on Nobrega, who is moreover my personal friend, for whom I obviously have the greatest sympathy. And I always ask the same question:

"Nobrega, when can you give me some dark glasses?"

This is, after all, Nobrega's business. He is an oculist. One of those most sympathetic to customers.

When he has glasses in stock, his shop is always crowded with hundreds of customers with prescriptions from specialists. Business moves reasonably quickly and Nobrega, behind his counter, deals with the customers who come to his establishment to have their prescriptions filled with unsurpassable courtesy and technical advice.

However, when the shelves are empty, the shop is almost deserted, and it is sad.

But I, even in those periods when the shelves are empty, am a faithful customer of Nobrega, because my friend's shop is actually on my way to the newspaper, and I can always find 10 minutes for a little chitchat.

Being someone's customer for 3 years seems to me worthy of note. Personally, I do not know of anyone in Luanda who has been a shop customer for so long,

and in addition, this is a kind of relationship which long since ceased to exist, perhaps because of the very irregular nature of imports, lack of goods to sell, etc.

However, I am a patient man. I am persistent. I want sunglasses. I insist.

"Nobrega, when then are you going to have sunglasses again?"

To tell the truth, there have not been any imports recently, and unfortunately, Nobrega still lacks the means of satisfying this order of mine pursued through 3 long years of patient search.

But he always offers me hope. Perhaps in a month. If he gets a shipment, he will not forget me. I can count on that.

Obviously, if one day Nobrega does sell me a pair of sunglasses, that kind with the green lenses which enable one to view the world in shades of hope, I will be very grateful to him.

I really need a pair of sunglasses. I have the money to pay for them. And it will cost Nobrega nothing.

After all, I am Nobrega's oldest client. I have been on the waiting list 3 years. I am putting up with it.

I always tell him: "Nobrega, you won't miss one pair of glasses."

Even if I have to wait 3 more years.

#### Codfish Imports Urged

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 7 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Joao Serra: "A Foreign Recipe for Cod"]

[Excerpts] The lack of a cooking section in this newspaper, commonly found in any other throughout the world, constitutes a lack which many readers have pointed out to us, one which due to absolute lack of initiative, we have not yet succeeded in filling.

But these readers are right. Cooking is a discipline which should even be learned in primary school. Eating well is a sign of culture.

And it was with these faithful devotees of good cooking, of the tasty tidbit, in mind, that I decided to publish a recipe in this column today which is not to be found in the ordinary cookbooks.

Today, finally, I am offering you a recipe I chose for this most responsible task, and which will make of your table, dear reader, if only for one day in your life, the paradise in which a man can finally feel fulfilled, complete and happy.

But there is a problem. It is my misfortune, and that of my readers, that it is a recipe for codfish, something which has not been seen on sale here for a long time, probably because there are those who do not know how to spell the name of it.

However, I am already in the middle of my article, and it is not easy to change the subject now. Therefore, here I go.

The codfish I want to tell you about is the western Gomes cod.

And if there is no codfish for sale, why is this?

Is it because it is not one of the foods Angolans customarily eat, as is often said?

The banana, a fruit probably introduced to Angola in the 15th century, was not a food customarily eaten by Angolans then either. But today the demand is such that one can not buy a banana in the market for less than 100 kwanzas.

But let us return to our subject: the cod.

The western Gomes cod is very similar to the eastern Gomes cod, the only difference being that it is properly seasoned with pineapple.

Let us therefore proceed to the recipe.

One must boil codfish and potatoes, previously cut into small pieces, for 12 minutes.

After the mixture is cool, add to it one-half a pineapple, cut up as it would be for fruit salad--and half the work is done. It is put in the oven with crumbled eggs, oil and white wine. It is eaten warm.

If there is no codfish, import some.

Money spent to eat well is never wasted.

Let us rehabilitate the cod. It has the same rights as the banana.

Personally, I only hope that this fish story will not end up in muddy waters.

#### Taxi Shortage

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by P. Almeida: "The Taxis of Luanda"]

[Excerpts] The last time I took a taxi (tourist model) was a good couple of years ago now. It was at the international airport on 4 February, when I was returning from a long trip.

I can sincerely say that since that date I have not used any taxi as a useful and speedy means of covering distance, one which should be available to any citizen without regard to who he is (I mean to say without discrimination based on sex, age or beauty!).

Nowadays it is a rare occasion when we see a tourist taxi moving along our streets. If memory serves, the last time I saw one of these rare "phenomena" was in front of a school just 3 months ago, and it was after 6 pm.

I would like to know what happened to the station wagon type of vehicle which was in use in the city as taxis about 3 years ago.

I would also like to know how many taxis (ETL tourist types) are available to the public every day.

If I were told that there are still several dozen of these units on wheels in circulation, I would be puzzled and I would ask who they really serve, or whether they have now been in fact converted into private vehicles.

If I were told that the taxis traveling about the city are driven by individuals whose sole purpose is to better serve the public in terms of transportation, I would not believe it, or I would at least reserve belief in such motives to a few individuals, rare in this regard.

If I were told that the taxis travel only on the outskirts of the city, transporting the relatives, friends, cohorts, "kambas" and their goods affiliated with the strategic and schematic interests of the drivers, this indeed I could more readily believe.

If I were told that more than 60 percent of the automobiles imported for use in our country as taxis are now out of service, at offices or junkyards, I would believe this, and I would have to believe that, beyond the irresponsibility of the drivers, there has also been negligence on the part of the officials who have been unable to implement the guidelines handed down from higher up calling for steps to be taken to improve taxi service, by stepping up supervision of these efforts and guaranteeing an increase in the level of concern for and service to the population.

The truth is that the state-owned taxis have vanished or are on the verge of disappearance, while the private vehicles are operating secretly, with their drivers exacting arbitrary and speculative charges for the transportation of individuals and goods, and yet nothing is being done to put an end to this illicit activity.

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PORTUGUESE DELEGATION ENDS VISIT WITH PRESS CONFERENCE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 10 Aug 82 p 2

[Text] At the conclusion of a 6-day working visit paid to our country, the delegation representing the Federation of Farm Workers Trade Unions in the south of Portugal held a press conference yesterday morning during which they discussed various subjects connected with the struggle being waged by the Portuguese workers.

During the press conference, Manuel Vicente, the secretary general of that trade union, spoke of the organizational level achieved by the Angolan workers' trade unions in these few years of independence, despite the tremendous difficulties they face mainly where the training of cadres is concerned. In this connection he said that some of these difficulties are shared by the Portuguese workers, as their visits to various localities and sectors of activity have allowed them to note.

The press conference was preceded by the reading of a joint statement in which the two parties stated that through their meetings, it has become possible for the workers in the two countries to establish new bonds of cooperation and friendship, through closer relations based on reciprocity and internationalist solidarity.

The Portuguese trade union delegation, which came to our country at the invitation of the National Agricultural Workers Trade Union, included, in addition to the secretary-general of the Portuguese union, the head of its international relations department, Jose Carinhas. During their stay in our country, the members of the delegation toured various production units and historical and cultural sites in the provinces of Luanda and Malanje, accompanied by their hosts.

Trade Union Cooperation Between Portugal and Angola

In the joint statement, both parties acknowledged that despite the situations inherited from the past, it has become possible for Angolan and Portuguese farm workers to establish new bonds of cooperation and friendship, through the strengthening of the relations between the trade unions and their federations, based on the principles of reciprocity and internationalist solidarity, and with a view to the exchange of trade union experience between the Angolan and Portuguese workers.

In this connection, both parties vigorously condemned the criminal attacks on the Front Line countries by the South African racists, as well as the maneuvers of the five Western countries in the Contact Group, which are creating obstacles to the application of Resolution 435 concerning the independence of Namibia, which has been illegally occupied in complete violation of the decisions of the United Nations.

The delegation representing the Federation of Farm Workers Trade Unions in the south of Portugal expressed solidarity with the Angolan workers and people and condemned the Western desire to interfere with the Namibian independence process and the withdrawal of the aggressive and colonizing South African colonial army from the sovereign territory of the RPA [People's Republic of Angola] and the international territory of Namibia, with Cuban internationalist troops present in Angola. They reiterated that this presence represents a sovereign act by the two governments, and that it only concerns the Angolan and Cuban governments.

Both parties indicated their full solidarity with the workers and peoples throughout the world who are fighting against colonialism, racism, Zionism and apartheid and other forms of exploitation and oppression, in particular the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, under the leadership of their revolutionary vanguard organizations, the ANC and the SWAPO.

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USSR COOPERATIVE WORKERS HELP WITH COTTON PROJECT

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 5 Aug 82 p 3

[Excerpts] Cotton is one of the main crops in the province of Malanje. In Cacuso, this is one of the crops which has merited the greatest development because of its economic value and its importance as a raw material for the domestic textile industry.

With this in mind, the N'Zinga M'Bandi Cotton Enterprise was established. Although it does not yet have legal status, it does physically exist and is making a contribution as a productive source to the regional economy.

Primitive Picking Methods

The way in which cotton is picked is not only counterproductive in terms of profitability, but also began at a certain point to create a certain obstacle for the national economy, because it is done by hand, without any protective measures.

There is no permanent manpower available for cotton picking in Cacuso, since this type of work is exhausting, while on the other hand, the workers do not have the supplies of foodstuffs necessary if they are to attack the 2,500 hectares of land completely covered with cotton with greater determination and enthusiasm.

This is why the N'Zinga M'Bandi Cotton Enterprise has a sector of migratory workers, which is however insufficient to guarantee continuous productivity.

Currently, the majority of the individuals picking cotton in Cacuso are young people under 18 years of age who make a great contribution during their school holidays to the completion of this type of work, to the benefit of national reconstruction.

Furthermore, the lack of suitable machinery should be stressed. The greater portion of the combines that enterprise has are in the worst of condition, since there are no spare parts available to guarantee their proper operation.

These are in brief the main problems which the enterprise is facing, and which lead to the absenteeism so notable in the cotton production fields in Cacuso.

### Skilled Personnel Needed

The factory sector is in operation, making a rather great effort with the aid of Soviet cooperation to ensure that the cotton ginning machinery functions 16 hours a day. It is only for lack of sufficient and properly skilled manpower that it is not possible to have the factory operating around the clock.

On the other hand, it is essential that the workers be provided with the necessary equipment for better protection against toxic effects.

### Cooperation Efforts

The N'Zinga M'Bandi Cotton Enterprise is currently being aided by 32 cooperative workers, all Soviet citizens. They include agronomers, mechanical engineers, electricians and translators.

Soviet cooperation, according to the director, Jesse Safec, has yielded good results in training Angolans where cotton production technology is concerned, including, for example, mechanics and electrical equipment and combine operators. Each of the Soviet citizens works with two Angolans.

As of the present, 38 Angolan technicians have already been trained.

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## ANGOLA

### KUANDO-KUBANGO UNSATISFACTORY SITUATION REVIEWED

#### Sectors of Activity

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 4 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Paulo Marcos]

[Excerpts] Kuando-Kubango Province (situated in the extreme southeastern part of the People's Republic of Angola) requires greater attention and continuing support in order to cope with the large-scale socioeconomic problems with which it is struggling--problems that bear little or no resemblance to those experienced in the other provinces of the nation.

These problems are characterized not only by the war situation that imperialism has forced on us through the instrumentality of its lackeys but also by the scarcity of human and material resources at its disposal.

Occupying an area of 199,335 square kilometers, Kuando-Kubango Province is the second largest (after Moxico Province) in the nation, with a population of 175,000 and a population density of approximately 0.9 inhabitants per square kilometer. These data by themselves explain why Kuando-Kubango Province is virtually underpopulated.

The province is divided administratively into nine municipalities and borders on the north with the provinces of Bie and Moxico, on the west with Huila, on the east with the Republic of Zambia and on the south with Namibia.

It is a province that has few agricultural traditions, and there is little agricultural activity at the present time. It is also impossible to speak of industrial activity, which is almost completely nonexistent.

The province nonetheless does have fertile, arable land that offers possibilities for major agricultural development, and the agriculture of the province (which since colonial times has been a subsistence agriculture) is taking the first steps--with the introduction of modern equipment and organizational methods--toward making the region self-sufficient.

If we turn specifically to the tasks of the National Reconstruction program, in which all sectors of activity are involved, various aspects become immediately apparent and lead us to draw a number of conclusions.

In addition to the weak support from the central governmental entities (which has been the object of justifiable criticism on the part of certain provincial officials), it is also true that some of these officials have themselves exhibited little dynamism. However, we encountered individuals who daily roam from place to place without engaging in any occupation and who could in some manner be incorporated into a number of socially useful activities.

The absence of either urban or rural marketplaces for the sale of fruits, vegetables and other products is making the situation of the local populations--who are already suffering from shortages--even more difficult, for other than the stores of the Ministry of Home Trade there are no places where one can acquire other supplementary products that would make it possible to vary one's diet.

#### Disorganization in the Hotel Sector

The activities of the hotel network play an extremely important role, inasmuch as it is this sector that has the task of feeding not only persons coming from other provinces but also a number of local residents who are unable to have their own meals at home.

The fact is that in speaking of the work of EMPROTEL in Kuando-Kubango Province we must say at the outset that this is one of the most disorganized sectors with which we came in contact. According to various sources, this disorganization is due to the lack of dynamism on the part of its officials, who have failed to take steps to ensure the timely acquisition of the necessary provisions from the provincial office of the Ministry of Home Trade and other entities.

#### Incorporation of the Unemployed Into Productive Employment

In a situation similar to what is taking place in most of the nation's provinces and especially in their capital cities, the city of Menongue also has many unemployed, who represent a dead weight that impedes the solution of the enormous economic and social problems faced by this region.

In turn, the existence of large amounts of money in the hands of the population without a corresponding circulation of goods in commerce constitutes another factor that helps to aggravate the economic situation of the province, in that it reduces the capacity of the governmental entities to carry out large-scale economic projects.

Juvenile delinquency--another social evil that deserves greater attention--has likewise attempted to gain a foothold in the city of Menongue. In these recent days when the schoolchildren have been on vacation, some of the youth of the province turned one of the schools in the city's outskirts into a center for gambling, and especially for the so-called "batota."

Kuando-Kubango Province, however, offers more than just these negative aspects on which we have focused in our brief survey. It has also won important victories in the economic and social fields, as for example in the development of agriculture, health, education and organization.

## Worsening Supply Network

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 4 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Paulo Marcos]

[Text] The activity of the provincial office of the Ministry of Home Trade in Kuango-Kubango Province is currently inadequate with respect to supplying the local populations and transporting certain farm products, as a consequence of the reduction in supplies from the central entities, the poor performance of its various departments, and the war situation that exists in that border region of the nation.

This information was supplied recently to our team of reporters by Agostinho Diogo, provincial commissioner of that ministry.

This province--just as the other regions of the nation--is in fact supplied with products most of which are imported in accordance with the national plan, but these products do not arrive intact at their destinations because of the diversion and theft they suffer en route. This circumstance is due in large part to the fact that the aforementioned office does not have at its disposal vehicles that are appropriate for the transport of the goods supplied to it by the central entities.

The transport of these goods--which usually do not get any farther than Cuchi Municipality because of a variety of difficulties--is dependent on 20 vehicles belonging to the provincial office of the Ministry of Transport, which from time to time rents them to the provincial office of the Ministry of Home Trade.

On the other hand, the commissioner of the Ministry of Home Trade in Kuando-Kubango Province disclosed that the province formerly received supplies twice a month. Although this was not sufficient to meet the needs of the population fully, the food shortages were not felt as keenly as they are today.

It should be noted that the rate of supply has been reduced to only once a month--a rate that is quite insufficient in view of the fact that the production of consumer goods in the province has only just entered its initial phase.

On the other hand, the presence of a large number of our fellow countrymen who are daily returning from the forests is making the situation even worse and impedes not only the operation of the provincial office but also the work of the other party and government organs that are involved in the effort to solve this problem and other problems that are inherent in the tasks of national reconstruction and require continuing and effective support.

Approximately 16 stores are in operation in the province as a whole. Then of these are in the capital city, including six food stores, three general stores and one store for the sale of manufactured goods. The remaining stores are scattered among the various municipalities.

Sales are also made from mobile trucks, so as to make it unnecessary for some workers to leave their workplaces in order to go to the stores.

Agostinho Diogo also said that the office (which he has headed for less than 1 year) has too many workers (approximately 800), and that the surplus workers would be selected for subsequent transfer to the Ministry of Labor, which will assign them to other entities. The existence of a surplus of workers in this office--many of whom are not even minimally qualified--hinders the operation of the various departments, with the result that these departments do not always succeed in carrying out fully the tasks of planning and distribution assigned to them.

The high index of absenteeism is another situation noted by Diogo, together with the disorganization that currently prevails in the commercial entities of the province.

#### Prospects for Expansion of the Commercial Network

The extension and organization of the commercial network is one of the tasks to which the party and the government have assigned the highest priority, as the only way to ensure improvement of the living conditions of the masses of the people.

In this context Kuando-Kubango Province is equally committed to implementation of this policy, and has assigned priority to certain municipalities that offer the best conditions for this purpose.

"We plan to extend these commercial activities to other areas, giving priority consideration to certain municipalities," the provincial representative of the Ministry of Home Trade emphasized. He added that the current situation does not yet offer the desired conditions.

"We shall accordingly begin with Cuchi Municipality," he said in conclusion. "It is an area that has great economic potential and a significant agricultural production, notably of corn."

As for the campaign for commercial development in the rural areas, Agostinho Diogo announced that little or nothing is being done at the present time, pending completion of the current study of the proposal to transfer the functions of ENCODIPA [National Company for Purchase and Distribution of Agricultural Products] to the entities of the Ministry of Home Trade.

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## BRIEFS

BENGUELA MANPOWER STATISTICS--The employed labor force in Benguela Province has been appraised at 85,150 persons, ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] has learned from a source close to the provincial office of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. This labor force is distributed among 1,435 production centers scattered throughout the province and is concentrated mainly in the manufacturing sector. According to this source there are 9,527 vacancies as against 11,530 requests for employment in various sectors of activity which do not correspond to the principal requirements at the present time in the province. It should however be recalled that at the conclusion of the work of the fifth session of the Provincial People's Assembly a resolution was approved that instructed the Committee on Planning, Finance, Labor and Social Security to conduct an in-depth study of the problem of the lack of activity in the centers of production--a situation which is overburdening the general budget of the nation. The study is to be presented at the coming session of the assembly and will contain significant data concerning economic and financial aspects as well as human and material resources. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Aug 82 p 1] 10992

FACILITIES FOR ZAIRIAN REFUGEES--A delegation representing the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees--headed by its representative in Angola, Neusa de Carvalho e Costa--last Monday visited the camp for Zairian refugees situated near Maua in Lukala Municipality, Kwanza-Norte Province. The purpose of the visit was to learn of the socioeconomic problems of the rural areas and study the possibility of increasing the assistance to the refugees of that nationality, inasmuch as the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner plans to enlarge this camp with a view to sheltering approximately 3,000 Zairian refugees, who currently total 235. During its meeting with the refugees, the visiting delegation took up (among other matters) the problems relating to the construction of more adequate housing, the electrification of the rural areas, and the irrigation of the 7 hectares of land that are devoted to the growing of various agricultural products. The delegation included the national director of social affairs, Fernanda Mateus, and the Kwanza-Norte provincial commissioners of the Ministry of Health and the Secretariat of State for Social Affairs. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 Aug 82 p 2] 10992

LOBITO PORT DATA--The general manager of the Commercial Port of Lobito, Engineer Fernando Falcao, disclosed to ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] that from January to July of this year the port moved approximately 4,000 tons of cargo, most of which consisted of food products and raw materials. The general manager of the port explained that this movement--although slightly below the target figure contained in the technical-economic plan--was in any case satisfactory with respect to the average value obtained. He added that the slight drop in output was caused by the lack of shipping in the Port of Lobito, which has virtually been idle with a large percentage of the berths unoccupied. Falcao also disclosed that 500,000 tons is the overall target for output proposed in the technical-economic plan for attainment this year by the entities of the port. [All figures as published] [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 Aug 82 p 1] 10992

PROTECTION OF PEASANTS--Malanje--In order to group together the populations that have been the victims of acts of sabotage and massacres committed by armed bandits in the pay of imperialism, a number of "pilot villages" will soon be built in Malanje Province in the municipalities of Lukembo, Kambundi-Katembo and Kirima. This was disclosed to ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] by Inacio Antonio Correia, member of the Provincial Committee of the party in Malanje and coordinator of the Department of Administration and Finance [DAF]. This official declared that the project aims essentially at the elimination of enemy activities against the people while providing for the people's defense. According to the same source, a village with a capacity of 8,000 residences will be built in each municipality during the first stage of the project, which has the support of the party and the government. After these villages have been built they will be provided with party and governmental entities and mass organizations. The DAF coordinator--who made a 30-day working visit as part of the aid and control program--emphasized that the shortage of nurses, medicines and teachers are the principal difficulties which the three affected municipalities are experiencing at the present time. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 Aug 82 p 2] 10992

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

OFFICIAL DISCUSSES NATION'S PETROLEUM, MINERAL POTENTIAL

Bangui TERRE AFRICAINE in French No 457, 17 Jul 82 pp 3, 10

[Interview with Jean Teya, director general of energy, mines and geology, by Albert Mandazou-Ballet]

[Excerpt] We plan to question experts from the General Directorate of Energy, Mines and Geology and from the American company, CONOCO, which has been prospecting for oil in our country since 1973.

In this issue, we present the point of view of Central African experts in an exclusive interview with the director general of energy, mines and geology, Jean Teya.

TERRE AFRICAINE: The Central African Republic, because of its geographic location and particularly the geophysical composition of its subsoil, is regarded as one of the African countries with great mineral potential. We know the story in respect to diamonds. We can guess what it might be for uranium. But Mr Director General, what exactly is the situation for oil?

Jean Teya: Our country is certainly thought to have a very rich subsoil, even if only on the basis of the situation in neighboring countries, Zaire in particular, whose minerals production is considerable. In our case, our uranium deposits are known and current reserves are accurately estimated at 20,000 tons. As for oil, the search is not being carried out by the General Directorate of Mines or any other Central African technical organization but by a group of private companies that have an agreement with the CAR. For the present, it would be risky to talk about a total figure or reserves because the first drilling tests have not been made, but we have great hope of finding oil.

T.A.: We know that since 1973 an American company, CONOCO (Continental Oil Company), has been prospecting in the north of the country, among other things, for oil. From 1973 to 1982, that will soon be 10 years. What concrete prediction can you make today about our country's oil prospects?

J.T.: The fact that this company elected to prospect in the northern part of our country reflects its confidence in internationally available technical studies showing a strong likelihood of finding oil in this area. CONOCO's

operations so far have been primarily initial exploration, which becomes more and more localized; that is, exploration of an ever-narrower scope: There remains an operation, now getting under way in the dry season, for CONOCO to finally identify the locations and establish whether or not there is oil.

T.A.: CONOCO is working in the northern part of the country. Can you tell us the size of the area in which the American company is working?

J.T.: The concession to CONOCO was for an initial area of about 150,000 sq km. That area has been reduced by slightly more than 70,000 sq km. In practice, when a company starts preliminary exploitation it is granted a larger area for the initial prospecting work, then, as the results come in, it focuses on more and more probable areas, ending up with locations where it expects to find oil. From 150,000 initially, CONOCO now has about 70,000 sq km.

T.A.: In the current phase, what kind of cooperation is there between the CAR and CONOCO? In other words, what is the extent of our country's current financial, technical and personnel cooperation in CONOCO's prospecting?

J.T.: From a financial point of view, all the prospecting work is being paid for by CONOCO and Shell, who are silent partners in the operation. The CAR is not participating in cost and prospecting. The agreement with CONOCO provides for the state's participation only if there turns out to be oil. The state is still involved with the infrastructure already in place, particularly roads, although CONOCO is also helping a great deal by putting in trails on the sites it is exploring. The state's actual physical participation is limited to some courses that we provide for mining engineers who will be sent to work with the CONOCO technicians to keep up-to-date on prospecting methods in the area. Last year an engineer of the mining operations of the General Directorate for Mines participated in the CONOCO work for 5 months, and this year we intend to do the same.

T.A.: Mr Director General, CONOCO's prospecting is being carried out in an area bordering our neighbor, Chad, where the same American company has been working since 1969. If this prospecting yields positive results, does our country envisage a three-way cooperation, CAR-CONOCO-Chad?

J.T.: The oil-yielding field now being prospected in northern CAR by CONOCO is a continuation of the one in Chad that CONOCO had investigated before the outbreak of the conflict caused it to begin work in the CAR. Certainly, economic thoroughness would dictate that if the results in the CAR are positive then there should be joint prospecting of the two fields, if only for the creation of a single establishment to undertake construction of a pipeline to get the oil to the nearest port, probably in Cameroon. It would be absurd to plan separate pipelines for the Chad field and the CAR field. I feel it is a little too early to get into further details of such cooperation between CONOCO, the CAR and Chad, and we should perhaps wait for confirmation of the preliminary indications of oil before undertaking such negotiations.

T.A.: Have you any idea, insofar as the results of CONOCO's current prospecting permit, of the extent of the oil deposit in northern CAR? In both quantitative and qualitative terms.

J.T.: It would be totally unrealistic to talk about potential reserves when the first drilling has not even been done. The series of rate-of-flow tests will not be carried out until the dry season of 1983, so for the moment our only consolation is that if the company continues to assign considerable investment to this project there must be a strong chance of finding oil. Of course, the opposite result is also possible, and that financial risk falls on CONOCO. However, it is only after the first well has been drilled and oil has been found that we will be able to start talking about potential reserves.

T.A.: If oil is definitely discovered in the CAR, what annual rate of production would be sufficient to change the economic and social picture in our country?

J.T.: In respect to oil production, we have examples for comparison. There is our neighbor Gabon, and soon Cameroon; and there are other African countries such as Angola, Algeria and Libya. We have some idea of how much production in barrels daily or annually would make it all worthwhile.

The benefits of the discovery of oil must be viewed according to different scales of value: on the one hand, there is the CAR's interest; on the other, there is also the interest of the companies that have made the investment for the search. From the companies' point of view--Shell, CONOCO and others--certainly they would like to find reserves large enough for commercial sale of the oil products on the world market, so they could make up the costs they incurred over the last 10 years. Given these considerations, the CAR's interest is thus in the extent to which it can meet its own needs and also have revenue from taxes on the sale of oil products. There are other alternatives. One is if the reserves turned out to be of little importance in terms of the world market but of significance in respect to national consumption. You know that domestic use of oil is currently about 80,000 metric tons per year, or 2.5 metric tons per day. The present consumption capacity for oil products, all uses included, is about 150,000 metric tons per year [figures as published]. Certainly, if a deposit were found that was large enough to produce this quantity, it would be very significant for the CAR.

T.A.: Eight years ago, detection experiments by an American satellite gave rise to the term "Bangui anomaly." This was one way of saying that our country has immense mineral potential: The presence of diamonds is known. We may get to uranium one day. However, there is also the oil you have been talking about. One question arises: Aside from these three, are you engaged in prospecting for other minerals? Which ones are they and why?

J.T.: Aside from diamonds, which are our primary export resource; the uranium project, which is waiting for prices to rise again in the world market; and the oil that CONOCO is planning to exploit, there are also, obviously, all the other minerals, including copper, titanium, iron, etc.

I cannot say at this time that we will definitely work, investigate, the other minerals, for the good reason that we do not have the necessary resources to get involved, but logic would indicate that our directorate should be given adequate resources to prepare for a replacement if the diamond reserves one day become exhausted. Prospecting in the country must continue, concentrating on the other mineral resources. Preferably, some of our own national technical bodies should be preparing studies to go along with the foreign investment planning. By contrast, we often wait for the mining companies from outside to make the entire financial contribution and exploration effort, because we do not have the technical means; it would be useful to start working in this direction.

As for the "Bangue magnetic anomaly," in the interest of historical accuracy, we should point out that it was discovered in 1960 by ORSTOM [Overseas Scientific and Technical Research Office] in Bangui and confirmed by the American Cargo satellite in 1975. As for interpretation of the anomaly, its existence clearly supports what I have said, including the need for technical resources to investigate what minerals are producing this magnetic anomaly.

9920

CSO: 4719/1256

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

BUDGET DEFICIT--This year's budget figures are now known. It is in deficit: revenues 29,995,000,000; expenditures 38,203,178,000; a deficit of 8,208,178,000. [Text] [Bangui TERRE AFRICAINE in French No 457, 17 Jul 82 p 3] 9920

CSO: 4719/1256

## GUINEA

### REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF GUINEA'S SECOND CONSTITUTION

Conakry DEUXIEME CONSTITUTION DE LA REPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE REVOLUTIONNAIRE DE GUINEE in French No 2919, 23-29 May 82 pp 27-41

[Text] Second Constitution

#### Preamble

The People of Guinea, by their massive vote of 28 September 1958, rejected colonial domination and, by that act, recovered their national independance and established a free and sovereign state. This state has taken the name of:

Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea

The history of Guinea shows:

- a) that the Guinean nation was born of the state;
- b) that it was begotten by the action of the masses of the people mobilized in the bosom of the Democratic Party of Guinea [PDG];
- c) that it is the Party that founded the state and that this state can, therefore, only be identified with the Party, which organizes it, directs it and controls it, while assuming in a real sense all functions in the form of a party-state and working for the realization of the people-state.

In Guinea, power is exercised by the people through the PDG, sole and exclusive governing political power, which integrates all social classes in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

The PDG is the party of the democratic African revolution, architect of the independance of the people of Guinea, efficient arm of political, economic and sociocultural development, based on the action of the working masses, source of creative energy.

It is a popular revolutionary party.

The philosophical foundation of the PDG is the recognition of the preeminence and the primacy of the people, supreme arbiters, source of the legitimacy and the legality of power.

The Party is the supreme medium of the people in the exercise of power and the principal force governing their action.

The PDG considers the fundamental, permanent and universal contradiction between good and evil as well as the legitimate struggle between the social classes, as the sole, dynamic and historic course of conquest, of the exercise and development of the political, economic, social and cultural power of the people.

The PDG leads this struggle on two fundamental fronts:

1. The front for the domination of nature by the appropriation by the people of all knowledge and all skill applied to creative work.
2. The front for the permanent struggle against all regimes and systems of exploitation of man and for the real and total administration of government, with all its powers, by the people.

The line of the masses is the principle that directs the PDG in the class struggle. On the basis of the line of the masses, the PDG has begun a process of the radical transformation of society, of constant and resolute struggle against all forces of and every inclination toward the exploitation of man by man.

The Guinean revolution, like every true revolution, is, by its very essence, global and multiform. It goes to the root of things and arms the people across all ideological, cultural and material lines with a view to rendering it invincible in history.

In the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, the class in power is the working people, which constitutes the class-people.

The PDG, party of the class-people, has at its disposal for the realization of its goals a technical instrument, the people's revolutionary state.

The state, with all its apparatus and structural and operational means, material and immaterial, is the instrument by which the class-people exercises sovereign power, defends itself and continuously develops in order to satisfy fully all its progressive aspirations.

The organization of the revolutionary Guinean state is faithful to this demand for ever-growing progress toward the goal of ever-increasing freedom for the working people and their greater worthiness because of their being always responsible and more competent.

Determined to make a reality the principle that calls for the people to govern and control their state, the PDG proclaims the party-state phase, whose ideals require:

1. that the democratic state not administer the people but that it manage public property;

2. that the democratic state is the technical instrument of the people for the realization of their choices, of their decisions.

From this time onward, for all problems requiring analysis and resolution at the level of the people, the state will, at all levels of its organization, cast off its character of anti-mass coercion to become the faithful instrument of the people, regulator of social reality in the service of democratic progress.

The party-state is the fusion in one single, organic entity of the Party and the state.

The revolutionary people's power symbolizes the attainment of the phase of the party-state.

In the course of this phase, the people of Guinea undertake to construct a strong, prosperous and just nation, a socialist society, and to pursue indefinitely its evolution toward higher and higher progress in all spheres.

Realization of the established objectives demands total mobilization and perfect organization of the masses and their broad, positive and efficient participation in the development of state policy by the exercise of revolutionary power at all levels of social organization of the country, as defined by the statutes of the PDG.

## Title 1

### On Sovereignty

Article 1. The Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea is governed by the PDG, supreme expression of the political power of the country.

Article 2. The PDG, as the national party, constitutes the party-state of Guinea. It is the authority for the national reality of unification of party and state, the political-administrative entity resulting from the people's national will.

Article 3. The national emblem is red, yellow and green in vertical stripes of equal dimensions.

The national anthem is "Liberty."

The national motto is: Work-Justice-Solidarity.

Article 4. National sovereignty belongs to the people, who exercise it in all matters and at all levels through mass organizations called revolutionary governments within the framework of the sole party, the PDG.

Article 5. It is exercised on the entirety of its terrestrial space, on the ground, below the ground, in its air space and its territorial waters, over all resources of whatever nature on its continental plateau and within its exclusive economic zone.

The land is and remains the inalienable and exclusive property of the people. By virtue of this fact, it can neither be sold nor purchased. Management and enjoyment are authorized only for physical and juridical persons as provided by law.

## Title 2

### On the Fundamental Rights and Obligations of Citizens

Article 6. All citizens and persons subject to the jurisdiction of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, without distinction as to race, sex or religion, have the right to vote and to be elected under the conditions prescribed by law.

Article 7. The citizens of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea enjoy freedom of speech, of press, of assembly, of procession and of public demonstration under the conditions fixed by law.

Article 8. Liberty of conscience is guaranteed to citizens.

Article 9. No person may be arbitrarily detained.

Article 10. The domiciles of the citizens of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea are inviolable. Secrecy of correspondence is guaranteed by law.

Article 11. The citizens of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea have equal rights to work, rest, social aid, training and education.

Article 12. Freedom to engage in trade union activities and the right to strike are recognized for the worker.

Article 13. All acts of racial discrimination as well as all propaganda of a racist or regionalist character are punishable by law.

Article 14. The Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea grants the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted because of their struggle in the defense of a just cause or because of their scientific and cultural activity.

Article 15. All citizens of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea have a duty to abide by the constitution and laws of the Republic, to pay their taxes and to fulfill honestly their civic obligations.

Article 16. The defense of the fatherland is the sacred duty of each citizen of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea.

Treason against the people and the fatherland constitutes the greatest crime.

Article 17. In the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, the rights and duties of citizens are based on the principle of solidarity: "One for All, All for One."

Article 18. Work is a sacred duty and an honor for the citizen.

Article 19. The citizen has a right to work and an obligation to work according to his ability. He is remunerated according to the quantity and quality of his work. He must rigorously observe work discipline and working hours.

Article 20. The citizen has a right to medical care and social insurance.

Handicapped persons or those who have lost the ability to work through illness or invalidism and old persons have a right to assistance.

Article 21. Women in the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural and social life.

Real estate owned by a family, even though title of ownership is in the name of the head of the family, cannot be transferred without the preliminary approval of the adult members of the family.

The right of inheritance is acknowledged for all wives and children of citizens.

Heirs are equal with respect to rights and obligations.

Article 22. Marriage and families are encouraged and protected by the party-state.

Article 23. The human person is sacred. The party-state has an obligation to protect it and to make it respected.

Each citizen has the right to the free development of his personality within the bounds of respect for democratic and social order.

Article 24. The citizen has a right to free education. Education is compulsory.

Article 25. All citizens have the right to file a complaint with the tribunals of the party-state against any government organ or against any person from whom he has suffered injury.

Article 26. All natural wealth of the country is the property of the people.

Article 27. The citizen must handle with care and respect collective property, oppose any act of misappropriation or waste and be constantly on the alert to safeguard and develop the people's interest.

Article 28. For the management of collective property, the party-state creates enterprises, companies and services that pursue their activities in accordance with the people's interest and the goals of the national development plan.

Article 29. Access to positions of responsibility at the heart of the party-state is open to all citizens who meet the criteria of revolutionary commitment, ability and integrity and who live solely from their salary and are not involved either directly or through an intermediary in any lucrative activity.

Article 30. The exercise of public authority may in no case become a source of enrichment or a means of serving private interests.

Article 31. The citizen must demonstrate revolutionary vigilance toward all elements hostile to the revolutionary regime established democratically in the country.

### Title 3

#### On Revolutionary Government

Article 32. Revolutionary government (government of the people, by the people and for the people), is exercised by the people, organized within the framework of the PDG, party-state, on the basis of democratic centralism in the following manner:

- a) all members of revolutionary government bodies are elected and their mandates are renewed periodically;
- b) the masses control the activity of the organs of the party-state created for this purpose;
- c) those elected are required to account for their acts before their electors and the latter have the right to recall them in cases in which they no longer merit the confidence placed in them;
- d) decisions adopted by the superior organs of the party-state are obligatorily respected by subordinate organs;
- e) subordinate organs of the party-state are responsible for their acts to the superior organs, which can cancel or change them as the case may be;
- f) the activity of the administrative organs of the party-state is subject to a system of double subordination: subordination relative to the official authorities from which they emanate and subordination to the superior organs and their official authorities;
- g) freedom of discussion and the exercise of criticism and self-criticism and subordination of the minority to the majority govern all collegial organs of the party-state.

Article 33. Revolutionary government is organized as follows: central revolutionary government, regional revolutionary government, district revolutionary government and local revolutionary government.

Article 34. The revolutionary governments of the party-state have, at each level, a parliament and an executive.

## Title 4

### On the Central Revolutionary Government

Article 35. The Central Revolutionary Government consists of:

A. The Parliament, which comprises: the National Congress, the Supreme Constitutional Assembly, the National Council of the Revolution and the National People's Assembly.

B. The National Executive, which comprises: the Supreme Person Responsible for the Revolution, the President of the Republic, the Political Bureau, the Government.

## Title 5

### On the National Parliament

#### Chapter 1

#### On the National Congress

Article 36. The National Congress is the supreme authority of the party-state. Its jurisdiction is general, covering all national affairs. It defines the broad orientation as well as the general principles of internal and external policy of the party-state.

It adopts resolutions.

It adopts law programs, which determine the goals of the development plan.

It elects the National Political Bureau, the Central Committee and other central organs of the party-state.

#### Chapter 2

#### On the National Council of the Revolution

Article 37. The National Council of the Revolution, whose composition and jurisdiction are fixed by the statutes of the Party, supervises the execution of the tasks assigned to organs of the party-state.

Article 38. The National Council of the Revolution adopts resolutions and outlines of laws for the National People's Assembly, which is charged with putting them in legislative form.

#### Chapter 3

Article 39. The Central Committee is the supreme authority of the party-state between two sessions of the National Council of the Revolution.

## Chapter 4

### On the National People's Assembly

Article 40. The mode of election of the members of the National People's Assembly, eligibility requirements and disqualifications, the term of office and the number of deputies are fixed by law.

Article 41. The National People's Assembly is called into session by its president or on demand of two-thirds of its members to vote on bills as well as on any other questions that are submitted to it or laid before it.

Article 42. The National People's Assembly decides on its own internal procedures by fixing:

1. the composition and operating rules of its personnel;
2. the number, manner of appointment, composition and jurisdiction of working committees;
3. the organization of administrative services placed under the authority of the President of the Legislative Council assisted by a secretary general;
4. disciplinary rules for the deputies;
5. in general, all rules concerning the operations of the Assembly within the framework of its constitutional competence.

## Title 6

### On the National Executive

#### Chapter 1

### On the President of the Republic, Secretary General of the Party-State, Supreme Person Responsible for the Revolution

Article 44. Supreme authority in the party-state is assumed by the President of the Republic, Secretary General of the Party-State, Supreme Person Responsible for the Revolution.

Article 45. He is elected by direct and secret universal suffrage by an absolute majority of registered voters.

Article 46. He is elected for 7 years. He may be reelected. To be eligible to be president of the republic, one must be of Guinean nationality and possess all civil and political rights.

Article 47. The Constitutional Council watches over the regularity of the election of the president of the republic.

The composition, the powers and the rules of operation of the Constitutional Council are fixed by law.

Article 48. The President of the Republic enters into office during the week following his election. He takes oath before the Supreme Constitutional Assembly, whose composition, powers and operating rules are fixed by law.

Article 49. In addition to the powers of the Supreme Person Responsible for the Revolution contained in the present constitution, the President of the Republic possesses the following powers and prerogatives:

1. He embodies unity of government in the party-state at home and abroad;
2. He is the guarantor of the constitution and of the independence and integrity of the territory;
3. He is the commander in chief of all revolutionary people's armed forces;
4. He is responsible for national defense;
5. He appoints the members of government and fixes their powers;
6. He presides at joint meetings of the central organs of the party-state;
7. He possesses regulatory powers;
8. He supervises the enforcement of laws and regulations;
9. He provides for civil and military employees in accordance with the law;
10. He possesses the right of pardon, the right of total or partial remission of any penalty as well as the right to erase the consequences of whatever nature of penalties pronounced by any jurisdiction;
11. He can lay any question of national importance before the people by means of a referendum;
12. He appoints and recalls ambassadors and envoys extraordinary of the Republic to foreign countries. He receives letter of credence and recall of foreign representatives;
13. He concludes international treaties. He promulgates laws;
14. He bestows decorations, honors and honorary titles.

Article 50. The acts of the Revolutionary Government are signed by the President of the Republic.

Article 51. In case of a vacancy in the presidency for whatever reason, the Revolutionary Government remains in operation and carries on current business until the election of a new chief of state within a maximum delay of 45 days, during which presidential elections are organized.

Article 52. The office of president of the republic is incompatible with the performance of any other lucrative function.

Article 53. When imminent danger threatens the institutions, the security of the independence of the nation, the integrity of its territory and when the regular operation of the people's government is interrupted, the President of the Republic takes such exceptional measures as are required by the circumstances with a view to restoring order. He informs the nation by message and convokes one of the national authorities of the party-state.

Article 54. Measures taken cease to have effect as soon as the circumstances that gave rise to them have ended.

## Chapter 2

### On the Political Bureau

Article 55. The Political Bureau is the supreme executive organ of the party-state. It fixes the date and the agenda of meetings of the organs of the party-state and insures the execution of their decisions.

Article 56. The Political Bureau assists the President of the Republic, Supreme Person Responsible for the Revolution, in the accomplishment of the duties of his office.

## Chapter 3

### On Government

Article 57. The Revolutionary Government is presided over by the President of the Republic, Supreme Person Responsible for the Revolution, and is composed of the prime minister, chosen preferably from among the members of the Central Committee and the superior agencies of the party-state by reason of their revolutionary commitment, their sphere of competence and their integrity.

Article 58. The Revolutionary Government takes general measures necessary for the accomplishment of the general policies of the party-state, especially with regard to the execution of laws and decrees.

Article 59. The Revolutionary Government coordinates and inspires the activity of the ministers who comprise it.

Article 60. In their respective functions, the members of the Revolutionary Government are responsible to the President of the Republic.

Article 61. The President of the Republic, Secretary General of the Party-State, Supreme Person Responsible for the Revolution, presides over Congress, the Political Bureau, the National Council of the Revolution, the Central Committee, the Revolutionary Government, the Superior Councils of the Central Committee and the Revolutionary Government.

Article 62. The functions of the members of the Revolutionary Government are incompatible with the performance for private gain of any professional activity.

Article 63. The Revolutionary Government is aided by the specialized central organs, called superior councils, charged with insuring the execution of its resolutions and decisions and whose creation, composition, powers and operating rules will be fixed by law.

## Title 7

### Chapter 1

#### On Relations Between the Parliament and the Executive

Article 64. The National People's Assembly studies and votes on bills that it takes up on its own or are regularly laid before it by:

--The National Congress of the Party

--The National Council of the Revolution

--The Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Revolutionary Government

--The Supreme Person Responsible for the Revolution, Chief of State, who alone can initiate laws.

Article 65. Resolutions coming from the national authorities of the Party, submitted in the form of bills, outlines of bills or draft laws are studied and adopted on a priority basis.

Article 66. The following are within the exclusive purview of the law: preparation of the development plan; the civil rights and fundamental guarantees accorded to citizens for the enjoyment of public freedom; the nationality, status and capacity of persons, matrimonial regulations, inheritance and bounties; determination of crimes and misdemeanors, penal procedures and amnesty; work rules and public employment; regulations governing the issuance of currency and credit; assessment, taxation and means of payment of taxes of whatever nature; electoral rules for the National People's Assembly, the regional people's assemblies, the people's district councils and local revolutionary governments; the general organization of services and public establishments, offices, state enterprises and companies; ownership of property, real rights [as published] and civic duties; conditions for transfer of state property, private land and management of state land; organization and administration of public collectives, their competence and their resources.

Article 67. The President of the Republic, Supreme Person Responsible for the Revolution, can, in case of need or emergency, take measures by decree that normally come under the purview of the law, with the exception of those concerning amendment of the constitution. These decrees are adopted in government council and submitted for ratification to the National People's Assembly at the time of its next session; otherwise they become null and void and without effect.

Article 68. Matters other than those that come within the purview of the law come under the regulatory power of the Revolutionary Government.

## Title 8

### On Local Collectives

Article 69. The Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea is composed of local collectives, which are:

1. The regional revolutionary government [PRR]
2. The district revolutionary government [PRA]
3. The local revolutionary government [PRL] or people's commune.

Local collectives are administered by elected revolutionary governments.

### Chapter 1

#### On Regional Revolutionary Government

Article 70. The PRR is made up of:

- a) Decisionmaking bodies which together constitute the parliament responsible for the development and adoption of all legislation concerning the region;
- b) Executive organs responsible for carrying out the policy governing the management of regional resources and their development.

Article 71. The PRR organs are, in order of precedence, the following:

1. The Federal Congress, which includes all of the executive organs of the PRR, the PRA's and the PRL's,
2. The Regional Revolutionary Council [CRR], which includes the executive organs of the PRR and delegations from the executive organs of the PRA's and the PRL's,
3. The Regional People's Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, with powers fixed by law.

Article 72. The regional executive is the Regional Executive Council, which includes:

1. The Federal Bureau
2. The governor of the region
3. The heads of the regional services

Article 73. The Regional Executive Council is required to meet once a month and take collective responsibility for the correct management of regional national resources and the perfect execution of all decisions of national and regional bodies concerning regional development.

## Chapter 2

### On the Revolutionary District Government

Article 74. The Revolutionary District Government is made up of:

- a) Two decisionmaking bodies, which constitute the parliament charged with the development and adoption of all legislation and regulations concerning the district;
- b) An executive charged with carrying out the policy for managing and developing district resources.

Article 75. The organs of the PRA are, in order:

- 1. The Sectional Congress, which includes all the executive organs of the PRA and the PRL's.
- 2. The Sectional Conference, which includes the executive organs of the PRA and delegations from the executive organs of the PRL's.

Article 76. The executive of the PRA is the District Executive Council.

The District Executive Council is required to hold two sessions per month and take collective responsibility for the correct management of district resources and the perfect execution of all decisions of national, regional and PRA bodies concerning the development of the district.

## Chapter 3

### On Local Revolutionary Government

Article 77. The Local Revolutionary Government is the basic unit of the PDG, the party-state.

Article 78. Local Revolutionary Government is made up of:

- a) A decisionmaking body, which constitutes the parliament charged with the development and adoption of all legislation and regulations concerning the PRL;
- b) An executive charged with carrying out the policy for managing and developing PRL resources.

Article 79. The decisionmaking body of the PRL is the General Assembly, which meets weekly in ordinary session.

The General Assembly holds the people's power. It constitutes the congress of the PRL and has general jurisdiction over all PRL matters.

The General Assembly can, at any time, call for replacement of the members of the bureau of the PRL.

The presiding officer of the Assembly is the mayor of the PRL.

Article 80. The executive of the PRL is the Bureau of the PRL, elected by the General Assembly.

Article 81. The PRL holds all powers, especially political, economic, socio-cultural, administrative, domainal and defense.

It is responsible for promoting the accelerated development of the people's commune: production brigades, public works on PRL land, raising the standard of living through work, education and culture.

Its principal mission is to assure, by the establishment of optimum conditions, the erection of an efficient, structured and prosperous socialist economy.

## Title 9

### On Judicial Authority

Article 82. Justice is administered in the name of the people of Guinea.

The President of the Republic is the guarantor of the independence of the judiciary. It is equitable, humane and without cost.

Article 83. Judges are selected by Party authorities at all levels.

Article 84. In the exercise of the their judicial functions, judges are governed only by revolutionary morality and the law.

Article 85. Judicial proceedings are public except in special cases as provided by law.

Article 86. The right of defense is recognized for the accused and the defendant.

Article 87. The judiciary, guardian of individual liberty, insures respect for the rights of the citizen under conditions provided by law.

Article 88. The judicial system of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea is established by law.

## Title 10

### On African Relations

Article 89. The Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea is empowered to conclude agreements on association or community, including partial or total renunciation of sovereignty, for the sake of the establishment of the United States of Africa.

## Title 11

### On International Relations

Article 90. Peace treaties, commercial treaties, treaties relating to international organizations, treaties, agreements and conventions that obligate state finances, affect laws and regulations of a legislative nature, relate to personal status or provide for the cession, exchange or acquisition of territory, can only be ratified by virtue of a law. They take effect only after having been properly ratified and on condition that they are observed by the other party.

## Title 12

### On Amendment of the Constitution

Article 91. Initiation of constitutional amendments is a matter for the President of the Republic, Supreme Person Responsible for the Revolution.

The National Congress or the Supreme Constitutional Assembly, by a vote of a majority consisting of two-thirds of its members, can adopt or submit to referendum constitutional amendment proposals.

The republican form of the state cannot be compromised by any constitutional amendment.

## Title 13

### On Temporary Regulations

Article 92. Legislation and regulations in effect in the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea remain in force to the extent that they have not been modified by the provisions of the present constitution, unless they impair the interests, the sovereignty or the independence of Guinea.

Article 93. The present law is adopted as the constitution of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea.

Conakry, 14 May 1982

9827

CSO: 8118/1437

ETHIOPIA ASKED TO INDEMNIFY KENYAN DEATHS

Paris AFRICA AFP in English 24 Aug 82 p 14

[Text] Nairobi, August 23--Ethiopia has been asked to adequately compensate for 29 nomadic Kenyans killed earlier this month when armed Ethiopian militia raided a manyatta (nomad) camp in Kenyan territory, the DAILY NATION newspaper reported today.

The paper quoted Sheikh Mohamed Kher, Chairman of the Town Council of Mandera, in the far north-east of Kenya near the border with Somalia and Ethiopia where the incident occurred, as saying that more than 30 people were killed, Kenyan officials put the death toll at 29.

Mr. Kher said Ethiopia should be asked to pay for the dead and the wounded and also return the animals and property stolen at the same time. A Kenyan radio report said the raiders had made off with 150 camels and 50 head of cattle.

The Kenyan Foreign Ministry sent a strong protest to Ethiopia over the incident and Kenyaradio later quoted the Ministry as saying that Ethiopia had promised to restore the stolen animals.

Forces from Ethiopia have for the last several weeks been fighting the Somali Government Army inside Somalia, and the fighting has on at least one occasion spilled over into Kenya.

Cattle rustling in the region is traditional but no raid has ever resulted in so many deaths, and it was the first time in recent years that Ethiopian troops has been implicated in such an incident.

Relations between Addis Ababa and Nairobi are cordial and the two countries have a defence pact.

CSO: 4700/1896

## MARKETABILITY OF MACADAMIA NUTS, PEANUTS, CASHEWS ANALYZED

Blantrye THIS IS MALAWI in English No 8, Aug 82 p 15

[Text]

**Importers of Malaŵi nuts prefer to have them raw and control the quality themselves, a United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) funded survey for Malaŵi Export Promotion Council shows.**

A draft final report of selected European markets for processed groundnuts, nut butter, macadamia and cashew nuts indicates that prejudice among consumers spoiled starter markets.

The survey was carried by Mr. J. Coulter of the London-based Tropical Products Institute on behalf of the Malaŵi Export Promotion Council (MEPC).

Presenting his report on June 10, Mr. Coulter told a meeting of representatives of Naming'omba Tea Estates Limited, growers, processors and packers of macadamia nuts; Sales Service Limited, manufacturers of roast salted groundnuts and groundnut butter; Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation (ADMARC), growers of groundnuts as well as macadamia nuts; and other export establishments that might benefit from the survey that he visited West Germany, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom for the survey.

He reported that in these countries he talked to various

major buyers of these products, using telephone interviews and collected samples from the markets for comparison with those in Malaŵi.

The percentage of holes in Malaŵi Macadamia nuts was lesser than those from other countries and the packaging by the producers was "highly professional", he said.

"Importers initial assessment of Malaŵi's ready packed macadamia was favourable ... several firms showed interest in the product," he added.

In order to establish a strong hold of the macadamia market and meet the competition on the European market, the consultant advised producers to evaluate price, transportation and the availability of the product.

"Malaŵi should also consider in-store promotions where tasting by the public to familiarise them with the product should take a prominent part," Mr. Coulter said.

Malaŵi production of the macadamia crop -- now at 50 tonnes and expected to reach 200 tonnes in four years time -- is very low compared to the State of Hawaii, United States of America, producing 83 per cent of the world's 4,500 tonnes in 1980.

The country faced difficulties in

selling groundnuts to European markets because the Malaŵi product has low tolerance level for aflatoxin - a fungi growing in moist groundnuts which if eaten in large quantities can cause lung cancer.

In his report, Mr. Coulter recommended that Malaŵi technical personnel be exposed to European standards and systems of monitoring aflatoxin. The batching system was the best way of reducing aflatoxin rather than the present system where groundnuts from one plant are tested for aflatoxin.

He gave hope for the product by saying "Malaŵi has a good reputation of aflatoxin content in her groundnuts," but that the present system of analysis was now out-dated.

Apart from ensuring low aflatoxin levels, another "measure to improve the marketability of Malaŵi raw groundnuts crop is the propagation of new varieties with a smoother and more rounded appearance," he suggested.

The output of groundnuts which is in excess of 20,000 tonnes a year has been steadily declining in recent years, according to the report.

Cashew nut's current 450 tonnage is expected to more than double in 1984, it says.

The report also discusses freight arrangements between Malaŵi and Europe, marketability of macadamia, groundnuts, groundnut butter and cashew nuts.

At the meeting those present tasted samples brought in by the consultant, compared packaging material and discussed the report.

Opening the meeting, the Director of MEPC, Mr. N. M. Mwaungulu, said the Council was committed to promoting exports from Malaŵi in the highest standards possible.

Should funds become available, he said future test marketing surveys would continue to be commissioned both at regional and international levels with a view to promoting Malaŵi products for export.

The Group General Manager of Naming'omba Tea Estates Limited, Mr. D. Emmot, described the report as "very valuable to us producers; it should be updated every year, especially the prices contained in the report"●

BANANA GROWERS' COOPERATIVE AIDS FARMERS

Blantyre THIS IS MALAWI in English No 8, Aug 82 pp 6-8

[Article: "Thyolo Farmers Going Bananas"]

[Excerpts]

**Many farmers in Thyolo are going bananas over the money from the yellow fruit grown in the district.**

The district, the country's leading banana producer, is geographically suited for banana growing and by the looks of the number of plantations, it will remain so for some time to come.

While production of bananas supercedes that of maize in the southern part of the district. In other areas, particularly the centre and the north, the crop is sporadic because land is taken up by tea estates and maize gardens.

Some farmers say the crop was introduced in the district in the 1950's to intensify soil conservation. This can, up to now, be evidenced from contour lining of the crop seen all over the hilly terrain in the banana growing area.

Mulanje is second to Thyolo in the banana growing industry.

But there are other districts in the country which have favourable weather and climatic conditions for bananas like Nkhata Bay, Rumphi and Karonga in the

Northern Region where bananas are grown on a relatively large scale for commercial and domestic purposes.

Of the three districts in the North, Nkhata Bay is the most prolific, particularly in the Kavuzi, Mpamba and Chikwina Highlands where the crop is grown purely as a cash crop, with the nearby Mzuzu produce market providing a convenient outlet.

In Karonga, bananas grow best along the River Rukuru and in Ngerenge area.

Bananas, however, are mainly grown in Malawi for domestic consumption.

But in other countries like Indonesia banana stem fibres are used to manufacture fabrics.

In Rumphi domestic and commercial banana farming is concentrated to areas bordering the Nyika National Park from where most of the rivers in eastern and western Rumphi originate.

In recent years, production of bananas as a commercial crop in Thyolo has excelled beyond the growers' expectation. There are over 3,400 banana growers with an average of 0.6 hectare per

grower.

"All my income comes from bananas," said Mrs. Esther Kamanga of Sub-Chief Khwete-mule in Chief Changata's area in Thyolo.

Realising that hoards of kilograms of bananas, ready for markets, were being wasted annually in gardens due to lack of reliable transport system, banana growers organised and formed among themselves the Thyolo Banana Producers and Transporters Co-operative Society in April 1978.

The Co-operative Society established its headquarters at Thekerani, the heart of banana producing area of Chief Nsabwe, some 52 km south of the Boma.

The prime purpose of forming the society was to solve producers' transportation problems so that their banana crop is taken to markets anywhere in the country.

For the smooth running of its activity, the Co-operative Society is organised into three organs: the management committee, supervisory committee and the education committee.

The management committee, which is charged with daily management work of the co-operative society, conducts the day to day business of the society, while the supervisory committee oversees the work of the management committee, ensuring that decisions, objectives and resolutions of the society are being followed and implemented.

The education committee educates members of the society on

all matters concerning the organization.

By December 31, 1981, there were 604 members with full K25 shares each, said an official of the society.

Although the society is basically registered in Thyolo District, farmers in neighbouring Mulanje District have shown interest to join it and this may eventually lead to extending its membership to that district.

Following the registration of the Co-operative Society four years ago, the Investment and Development Bank (Inde Bank), made available a fleet of six seven-ton lorries for transporting bananas to markets, a tractor and a four-wheel drive vehicle for field break-down and administrative purposes.

Although the society has transport of its own, it has not ruled out dependence on private transporters because of increasing demand for transport from its members thus the society still operates side by side with private transporters.

About 50 banana truckloads leave Thyolo for markets throughout the country weekly. This is done mainly during the dry season when the roads are in good conditions, the official said.

To secure a fair deal, it is the responsibility of the society to decide on hire charges for all types of transport taking bananas to markets●

ELECTION OF MAURITIAN MILITANT MOVEMENT CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORTED

Sixty-Four Candidates Compete

Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 8 Aug 82 pp 1,6

[Text] This morning, 64 candidates will compete for the votes of the representatives of the various branches of the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM), hoping to be elected to the 15 seats to be filled in the first election round for the MMM Central Committee for the 1982-83 organizational year. The MMM Central Committee has 35 members, and the other 20 will be chosen on the district level in the days to come.

Of the 64 candidates, 21 are outgoing members and 9 are parliamentarians. In this first round, only five seats are reserved for the parliamentarians. The nine parliamentary candidates are Messrs Aneerood Jugnauth, prime minister and outgoing president of the MMM; Paul Berenger, minister of finance and outgoing secretary general; Abdool Kader Ahmed Bhayat, minister of commerce, industry, prices and consumer protection; Ramduthsing Jaddoo, minister of education; Shri Krishna Baligadoo, minister of housing, lands and the environment; Premdut Koonjoo, minister of regional administration; and Mathieu Lacle, Devanand Routho and Ravind Lochun, deputies.

According to indications obtained from circles close to the MMM, there will be a bitter battle for the fifth seat reserved for the parliamentarians. The four parliamentarians favored for reelection are Messrs Jugnauth, Berenger, Bhayat and Jaddoo, while the other two ministers, Baligadoo and Koonjoo, will have to compete with the three other deputies to retain their Central Committee seats during this first round.

Of these nine parliamentarians, eight are outgoing members of the political bureau, and the ninth, Mr Lochun, had bad luck during the last Central Committee elections.

Moreover, three other candidates were rejected by the Central Committee. They are Messrs Aston Claire, Clency Gangaram and Mitraddev Peerthum. The first two were disqualified because they had not yet held party membership for 2 years, while the last mentioned was not a member of any party group.

As is known, the first round to elect the members of the Central Committee of the party, scheduled for Sunday, 11 July, was postponed at the last minute

because of certain problems developing within the party. The leadership decided at that time to postpone the delegates' meeting, while at the same time granting two small groups--the National Anti-Somaz Front and Lalit Travayer a period in which to alter their policy.

At the same time, the government was faced with street demonstrations organized to protest the nomination of the "best losers." These demonstrations were organized by individuals close to the MMM, and some say were likely to put the MMM leadership in an embarrassing position in the eyes of the base-level membership.

#### Berenger Leads

Port Louis L'EXPRESS In French 9 Aug 82 pp 1,7

[Text] The 268 branches of the MMM with the right to vote elected 15 members to the Central Committee of the party yesterday. Mr Paul Berenger, secretary general of the MMM, was the big winner, with 160 out of the 202 valid votes counted, followed immediately by Messrs Abdool Kader Ahmed Bhayat (137 votes), Aneerood Jugnauth (131), F. Soopramanien (120), and Ramduthsing Jaddoo (110).

Six outgoing members of the political bureau were reelected. They are Messrs Berenger, Bhayat, Jugnauth, Jaddoo, S. P. Naiken and Baligadoo. Minister Premdutt Koonjoo and deputies Mathieu Lacle and D. Rothoo were not reelected.

There were 55 candidates competing yesterday.

Below is the list of the 15 members elected to the Central Committee:

<u>Elected</u>	<u>No. of votes</u>
1. Paul Berenger	160
2. K. Bhayat	137
3. A. Jugnauth	131
4. F. Soopramanien	120
5. R. Jaddoo	110
6. V. Jhurry	109
7. R. Virahsawmy	93
8. S. P. Naiken	92
9. G. Hazary	91
10. R. Seereekissoon	87
11. N. Fortuno	84
12. R. Elahee	75
13. V. Arian	71
14. M. Flore	67
15. K. Baligadoo	63

It will be noted, moreover, that six outgoing members of the Central Committee were not reelected. They were Messrs R. Badin, R. Gokool, D. Mundil, A. Bhundoo (UBIW [Union of Bus Industry Workers] leader), G. Pillay (PLHDWU

[Port Louis Harbor and Dock Workers Union] leader), and A. Parmessur. The MMM Central Committee, it will be recalled, has 35 members, 20 of whom will be chosen on the district level in the course of the coming weeks.

Only five deputies won election yesterday. They were Paul Berenger, Abdool Kader Ahmed Bhayat, Aneerood Jugnauth, Ramduthsing Jaddoo and Shri Krishna Baligadoo.

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CSO: 4719/1289

GOBURDHUN OPPOSES MMM

Port Louis NATION in French 16 Jun 92 p 1

[Text] Jugdish Goburdhun at war with the MMM. He defends some of his deputy friends.

An opposition has been forming within the MMM since the ministerial posts were allocated. One of the first deputies to come out against the leadership was Mr Jugdish Goburdhun, first deputy from Montagne Blanche/Grande Riviere Sud Est and president of the Mauritius Planters Association.

In a press release yesterday Mr Goburdhun stated that the principle of meritocracy has not been respected since some good candidates were not chosen. He cited the names of Mr Sylvio Michel, deputy from Port Louis Nord/Montagne Longue, Madun Duloo and Dharmanand Fokeer, deputies from Grand Baie/Poudre d'or, Anil Gayan, deputy from Curepipo/Midlands, and L. Ramsewak, deputy from Mahebourg.

Mr Goburdhun emphasized the fact that Mr Sylvio Michel, Mr Madun Duloo and Mr Fokeer and Mr Ramsewak have served the party for a long time, while Mr Gayan resigned as Senior Crown Counsel to become a candidate for the MMM.

Mr Goburdhun discussed the question with M.A. Jugnauth yesterday morning in the presence of Mr Ramdath Jadoo, but no change was made in the ministerial list. While he pointed out that he had no intention of becoming a minister himself, (he would refuse a portfolio if the leadership of the MMM were to offer him one), Mr Goburdhun stated that he would lead a fight in Parliament to have the fundamental principles of the MMM and of meritocracy respected.

The MMM deputy has, moreover, stated that he and other deputies learned of the allocation of the portfolios from the press and that they should have been informed in advance.

Finally, Mr Goburdhun pointed out that certain electoral districts had three ministers and others did not have any.

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CSO: 4719/1138

MAURITIAN REVOLUTIONARY GROUP LEADERS EXPLAIN GOALS

Port Louis LE NOUVEAU MILITANT in French 23 Jul-1 Aug, 8-15 Aug 82

[Interview with GMR leaders Vijayen Valaydon, Rahim Said Hossen and Rama Valayden; date and place not given]

[23 Jul-1 Aug 82 pp 1,11]

[Text] The Grup Morisyen Revolityoner (GMR) [Mauritian Revolutionary Group] made a public statement for the first time when it organized, jointly with the SIM, a protest demonstration in front of the American embassy in Port Louis, during which about a thousand persons denounced the genocide being committed by the Americans and Zionists against the Palestinian people in Lebanon.

To learn more about this movement, HORIZONS NOUVEAUX met with three of its sponsors--Vijayen Valaydon, Rahim Said Hossen and Rama Valayden.

They first of all stressed forcefully that the GMR is profoundly internationalist. "In the era of imperialism, one reality forces itself upon all of those waging the struggle throughout the world: the struggle is international. We cannot confine ourselves to a single country 'in the name of the national interest' at a time when thousands of our brothers and sisters are dying every day throughout the world, in particular in the Third World, because of a system organized in the class interests of certain powers. The goal of the struggle is to improve the lot of each human being on earth, wherever he may be, particularly in such hot spots as Palestine, Azania, El Salvador, Eritrea, Namibia, etc., where entire peoples are living under particularly tragic conditions of oppression. Our symbolic demonstration in front of the American embassy was designed to make the public aware of the tragedy of the Palestinian people, to assert our sense of revulsion against America, the Zionist state and its friends, and to make all of this rabble understand that there are human beings who will no longer content themselves in the future with remaining passive spectators while their brothers are massacred. It must be made clear that now and henceforth, after having analyzed all the possible consequences, there are comrades willing to go and fight beside the Palestinians in Lebanon. We also want to put Mauritian internationalism into practice and to show that we are not a revolutionary group for nothing."

[Question] What are the goals and objectives of the GMR?

[Answer] Our duty of overall struggle against imperialism in favor of  
[passage illegible]

on all levels, so that the people can collectively pursue their destiny, and so that individual human beings can fully realize their individuality.

We are indeed aware that the development of such a society will take time, but the important thing is that we are working in this direction. The establishment of neighborhood committees everywhere to achieve this end should be the task of all those who believe in the power of the people.

The masses in these neighborhood committees should be encouraged to speak out, and to participate together with the vanguard elements in changing the society of exploitation. We think that the neighborhood committees can be the popular power cells which will gradually join together in order to find the higher forms of organizing a society in which the masses of the people will truly be in power. The system of organization will take shape of itself. Who could have imagined 300 years ago that the monarchic system, believed to be absolute, would gradually weaken and yield to the republican system which endorsed the emergence of the bourgeoisie. On the day when every human being is in a position to develop his personality fully, then we will be living in a society in which the people are really in power.

[Question] What are your immediate goals [passage illegible]

to continue to create cells everywhere, in other words to encourage the establishment of neighborhood committees or Comites lepep Morisyen [Committees of the Mauritian People], to make people aware of their problems and enable them to pursue their destiny, to support any struggle designed to obtain minimal wages for the workers, without lapsing into leftist demagogy, to prevent a revival of the right wing, whether in disguise or not, to face the MMM with its own promises, etc.

[Question] What are your relations with the parties or other movements on the left, or what will they be?

[Answer] It is a question of providing aid to whatever can move the struggle of the oppressed ahead. But we do not believe in political parties. They attempt to put themselves in power, whereas we are fighting so that the masses can control the regime. We must destroy the myth of the political parties as saviors of the people. After the PT [Labor Party] there is the MMM, and after the MMM there will perhaps be Lalit. This is but a vicious circle. They are "tools of government" which fight among themselves to seize power in the name of the people. True revolutionaries must aid the masses to organize themselves and to demand their rights without recourse to the tools which want to abuse the weaknesses of the masses in order to usurp power in their name.

[8-15 Aug 82 p 9]

[Text] [Question] In your view, what problem in the country requires priority attention?

[Answer] It is necessary first of all to understand the functioning of the capitalist system under which we are living, because it is too easy to pay attention only to the effects of this system. To the extent that the main contradiction in this system is found on the level of the private appropriation of the fruits of the labor provided by the community of workers, the only solution lies in socializing the means of production (land, capital, machines), in other words, expropriating the assets of the bigwigs in order to put the production establishments directly back in the hands of the cadres who keep these establishments running. Naturally, new relations will have to be established on more just and humane foundations within these establishments, which will function not so that a handful of individuals or a government can make a profit, but in the service of the whole of society.

Also, it becomes of extreme importance to pursue an active anti-imperialist struggle. Therefore we think that the problems exist in international terms as well. For the time being, the number one enemy in the Indian Ocean area is America, above all through its military base on Diego Garcia.

Nor should we forget the frustrated coup d'etat in the Seychelles, organized by proxy.

Another thing which merits the attention of the people of Mauritius is the fact that America has rejected the Law of the Sea. In particular, because Mauritius is surrounded by the sea and is rich in maritime assets, special attention should be devoted to this aspect. However, despite this special attention to the threat posed by America, we should not forget the role of the USSR.

Finally, we believe that the spirit of patriotism should be cultivated, and that in the higher interests of the country, the hidden interests of the leading classes in this nationalist bugaboo should be laid bare.

Now national liberation should be undertaken on two levels--culturally and economically. And once this liberation has been achieved, we will finally be able to pursue a self-administering society.

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CSO: 4719/1290

PLANS FOR COOPERATION WITH MADAGASCAR DISCUSSED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 7 Aug 82 p 1

[Text] Cooperation between Mauritius and Madagascar for the future seems well under way. In fact, following the visit paid to Mauritius just after the triumph of the MMM/PSM alliance by Malagasy Minister of Commerce Georges Solofoson, resulting in an offer to sell cattle to our country (thus making exception to the principle according to which Madagascar does not sell cattle abroad), it has been confirmed that Mauritius will import 6,000 live animals from the island every year.

Apart from cattle, Mauritius also plans to purchase a whole range of fruits, including apples, oranges and tangerines, from Madagascar. However, a shipment of 10 tons of tangerines on which we were currently expecting delivery through Intracorp, an enterprise established by the MMM and headed by Mr Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, had to be delayed because of a law in effect in Mauritius since 1959 and kept in effect by the outgoing government and various pressure groups prohibiting the import of vegetable products of Malagasy origin. This law will shortly be revoked. The decision to import fruit from Madagascar, apart from its advantageous trade aspect, will significantly reduce our dependence on the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Finally, we should note that the country also plans to import 1,000 tons of large peas, produced on the southern part of the island, from Madagascar.

Madagascar, for its part, wants to purchase edible oils as well as other products, including chemical fertilizer, detergents and cement, from Mauritius. Moreover, it would like to sell us the printed and other cotton fabrics our free textile zone needs.

It should be noted that in Mauritius, it is Intracorp which is responsible for coordination in the import and export sectors, pending establishment of the appropriate bodies, including the State Trading Corporation. In the view of Mr Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, who recently returned from a mission in Madagascar, "the tremendous potential existing in terms of trade exchange between Mauritius and Madagascar has been confirmed.

"For us, having been accustomed to turning to the West, an intensification of cooperation among the countries in the region could have immediate positive and happy consequences," Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo stressed.

There is therefore a need to effect a natural rapprochement with the neighboring countries, which have so much to offer us, both on the trade and cultural levels.

Moreover, when he met with our correspondent Jean-Clement Cangy, in Tananarive, Mr Laurent Radaody, who heads the office staff of President Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar, and is the international relations official in the political bureau of the ARMA [Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution]--the main political party represented in the Malagasy government, confirmed the good intentions of the Malagasy government toward our country. "We have long awaited the advent of this government to power. Indeed we are in favor of cooperation on the regional level. For 6 years we have been participating in the meetings of progressive organizations in the region, and we have thought a great deal about the cooperation question. We are in favor of the establishment of a special commission on the Indian Ocean as a permanent body. Our views are the same as yours on this issue."

With regard to the planned summit meeting to be attended by President Didier Ratsiraka, France Albert Rene and Mauritian Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth, Mr Laurent Radaody indicated to us that President Ratsiraka will definitely participate. For all the participants, it is but a question of time available and determination of the date.

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CSO: 4719/1291

NATIONAL ANTI-SOMAZ FRONT ANALYZES NEW BUDGET

Port Louis LE NOUVEAU MILITANT in French 7-15 Aug 82 pp 1,4

[Text] The National Anti-Somaz Front (FNAS) set forth its "different assessment" of the 1982-83 budget, as compared with those of other population sectors, during a press conference Thursday. However, the FNAS acknowledges that the budget submitted by Minister of Finance Paul Berenger includes some positive measures, in particular the establishment of agricultural and industrial cooperatives, the energy policy, the establishment of an anti-corruption court, the increase of social allocations and compensation to the Ilois.

The spokesmen of the FNAS, including Dev Ramano, Serge Rayapouille, Nicole Allet, J. Rene, M. Purang, J. Ross and Y. Pauline, spoke of the demands made by the government with a view to implementing the intentions set forth in the budget and achieving its three goals, which are recovery, financial stabilization and social justice. According to the FNAS, the government analysis contained in the budget is "strictly economic and arithmetic." They asked what measures the government proposes to control profit margins and the fortunes of the big owners.

"The large properties, the great fortunes and the big owners living in the rural regions have not been taxed," D. Ramano said. He added that these are however truly socialist measures for replenishing the state coffers, thus reducing the deficit margin in the operational budget.

Going on to discuss consumption, D. Ramano said that not everyone consumes in the same fashion. The "little people" do not have a decent life. Food imports, he said, include on the one hand basic foodstuffs for the people such as rice and flour, but also deluxe items which go to the hotels and those in the system who enjoy privileges.

On the subject of incentive measures, the FNAS does not believe that employers will work with the government to promote the economic recovery of the country. This organization does not like the 25 percent reduction on the sugar export tax. It wonders if the workers will support this measure.

Nor does the FNAS ask the country to reject the IMF and World Bank loans, but it is necessary to negotiate on a lasting basis with these institutions, and in terms of temporary compromises, D. Ramano said. On the other hand, he

stated that the owners are more concerned with their profit volume than with creating jobs. Nor does the FNAS believe in the efficiency of modern management. "This route leads to failure," D. Ramano said, because there is no way to achieve "good capitalism."

The FNAS reiterated the proposals it made during a seminar last year. It has voiced its complete solidarity and agreement with Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth on the refusal to provide eggs and vegetables to the American military forces on Diego Garcia.

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CSO: 4719/1292

FORMER FINANCE MINISTER COMMENTS ON NEW BUDGET

Port Louis ADVANCE in French 6 Aug 82 pp 1,4

[Text] "The MMM, which promised the Mauritian people to work miracles, is today backing out of the commitments it made during the electoral campaign, using as its pretext a document evaluating the economic situation of the country."

This statement was made to us by the former minister of finance, Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo. He added that the MMM, which repeatedly criticized the financial situation of the country when it was in the opposition, knew what the situation was in this regard, particularly since the outgoing government had always told the people that the situation was difficult. He cited as examples his own press conference and the document entitled "Our Economic Recovery" published during the electoral campaign.

Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo stressed that this document gave precise information about the sums obtained from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and other financial institutions, and it showed in what sectors this money was used--housing, water supply, roads, bridges and streets, hydro-electric projects, the bulk sugar terminal, etc. This document also assessed the difficulties the country had experienced following the hurricanes and the drought since 1979, and referred to the loss of 1.2 billion rupees in foreign exchange and the reconstruction work following Hurricane Gervaise. Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo said that this document also reported on the difficulties the country had encountered after the 1979 devaluation, and it gave precise details on the financial situation between 1976 and 1972--details which were repeated over the radio and television and in the press. Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo said that when Mr Berenger says now that he was not aware of this situation, he is not telling the whole truth.

Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo also said that he understands Mr Berenger's statement on page 2 of his speech, where he said: "If we do not find the foreign exchange from these sources (IMF, World Bank, friendly countries and commercial banks) to meet the deficit in a matter of months, we will no longer be able to pay for imports of petrol and oil, food, raw materials and other goods. In that event imports would halt until we receive the foreign exchange for our sugar exports." He found himself in a similar situation in 1979-80, and it was in order to avoid a situation like that experienced by Madagascar and Tanzania, which had refused IMF aid, that he had to turn to

that organization. Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo stressed that the situation has clearly improved since the period when the balance of payments deficit was 980 million rupees, since it is only 500 million rupees now.

Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo was categorical: If the government had not contracted debts with international institutions and friendly countries, there would have been many more unemployed in Mauritius now. He added that he had told the people earlier that debt servicing would be high in the course of the next two years before showing a clear decline beginning in 1985.

Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo told us that in the evaluation made by Mr Berenger, he did not mention even one single time the weather situation which has prevailed in the country in recent years, which was the reason for a substantial reduction in our foreign exchange income, strikes and the pressure from trade union leaders with which the outgoing government had to deal. Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo believes that when one decides to tell the truth, one must tell the whole truth and not half-truths. He told us that the economic document published by the MMM made him think of Dev Virahsawmy's General Macbef, who spoke three languages--one for his colleagues, one for the public and a third for politics.

Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo said that the promises made by the MMM leaders--300 rupees to the beneficiaries of old age pensions, a minimal wage of 1,000 rupees for the workers in the free zone, an unemployment allocation of 300 rupees, a general improvement of the standard of living for the people--seems far off, and that the workers today are being given only crumbs. He said that the outgoing government was always able to draft its budget like a good family provider, never concealing the truth, but unwilling to make promises it knew it could not keep.

Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo said that "talking about the disastrous legacy" is a phenomenon common throughout the world to those who promise the earth and who realize, once in power, that they went too far in their promises. He believes that the Mauritian people who voted massively for change were cheated in the goods received. He added that history will show that he was not mistaken.

The former minister of finance believes that the only thing which can be done will be to improve the economic situation, something which has already occurred and which was confirmed by the International Monetary Fund team which visited Mauritius recently. He reminded us that Mr Berenger did not mention economic independence or the world economic situation, despite the fact that it has important effects on our financial situation, even once in his speech. Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo believes that when the minister of finance tries to conceal this truth, he is failing to tell the full truth to the population.

Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo said that in view of the present economic situation, the people would perhaps be in agreement with the caution shown by Mr Berenger in his budget, even though he did make promises which came to nothing.

The Labor Party (PT), for its part, Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo told us, will in its policy refrain from embarrassing the new government in the work it would like to accomplish, because of the will expressed by the Mauritian people in voting massively for the MMM. He added that while not sparing its criticism where it is merited, the PT will adopt a neutral attitude, watching the situation closely, without, however, hindering the government in its work.

Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo told us the following: "We belong to a serious party and we do not plan to conduct ourselves, even while we are out of the parliament, in the way in which the MMM conducted itself in relation to the outgoing government, because we are above all real patriots."

Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo told us that he has challenged his successor "to produce an international document stating in black and white that our financial management was bad."

5157

CSO: 4719/1293

FACTIONS WITHIN LABOR PARTY DISAGREE ON FUTURE PLANS

Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 8 Aug 82 p 6

[Text] Various factions are currently developing within the Labor Party (PT), whose leader, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, is in London in temporary seclusion.

In fact, he is taking advantage of his stay in London to study a memorandum sent to him by three former parliamentarians about a labor movement renewal.

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam indicated his intention of abandoning active political life shortly before his departure for London. In this connection, he designated Mr Kailash Purryag as the future leader of the Labor Party. This choice, although it was not announced officially, caused a certain turbulence in the ranks of the PT.

On the last occasion, the PT was unable to meet for lack of a quorum, since certain of its members were "also in temporary seclusion." Some of them have even gone so far as to contemplate the establishment of new political parties. There was first of all the Mauritian Radical Party (PRM), including former members of the Labor Party, the National Liberation Front and aspiring politicians from various sectors of the economy. The members of this party, who said that they had learned the lesson of 11 June, are currently working on the establishment of this political party and on a government program.

Another political party which has emerged from the labor ranks is in the process of being established. It is the National Congress Party (PNC), which is said to include young individuals who emerged with a good image from the bitter 11 June defeat. This party, which is still operating on a clandestine basis, will declare itself officially in the near future. It is possible that the members of the PNC are awaiting the return of their former leader before making any decision. This party took shape "because it is unwilling to work with the same structures as led the Labor Party to catastrophe." The steps undertaken by certain individuals just after the electoral defeat "irritated" the young laborites. Those who want to take advantage of the Labor Party's being established for 40 years, but who want to oust certain leaders, are working outside the party, and are trying to rally all of the effective labor forces.

Some former senior ministers have been approached by certain individuals for possible advice or for support of their ranks. "Where this pressure cooker, which has been bubbling for some time, is concerned, it is the final decision of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam as to his political future which will determine whether it blows up or cools down so that more ingredients can be added," is the word being circulated in the circles involved.

5157

CSO: 4719/1292

GOVERNMENT TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 10 Aug 82 p 1

[Text] Scientific research and the application of new technology in Mauritius will see a new upsurge with the establishment of the National Council for Scientific Research before the end of this year. The primary purpose of this new institution will be to direct research which can be adapted to the needs of the country. The government is currently working on the modus operandi for this new body, and a draft law will be submitted to the parliament within a few months by Dr Ahmed Swalay Kasenally, the minister of energy.

The council will also have the important task of coordinating all research undertaken by the various institutions on the small island of Mauritius, in particular the Mauritius Sugar Industry Research Institute (MSIRI), the farm extension service of the Ministry of Agriculture and the University of Mauritius. The present disparate research thus needs coordination, since the country cannot afford to waste its resources, government sources stress.

With the establishment of the National Council for Scientific Research, studies will henceforth be carried out in a more rational and planned fashion, in which connection the goals, strategy and policies for research will be established. Dr Kasenally, the minister of energy, who is moreover the author of this idea, believes that it is imperative for all countries in the process of development to establish such institutions, so that the means utilized for the transfer and adaptation of new technologies can be more flexible and convenient. In each of the countries in the process of development, an amount equivalent to between 0.7 percent and 2 percent of the gross domestic product (PDB) is allocated for research. Where the island of Mauritius is concerned, a sum equivalent to 1 percent of our PDB can be used for research purposes, Dr. Kasenally believes.

Mauritius has rather costly equipment, the minister explained, but it is underutilized for scientific research. Even the maintenance of this apparatus is rather expensive, as is the cost of replacement parts. One of the purposes of this council will be to insure the optimal use of this equipment, so that the country can derive benefit from the relatively costly investment. The council will also consider the possibility of training

Mauritian scientific personnel locally. Within this framework, the council will coordinate its efforts with all the research institutions with a view to establishing priorities.

Researchers in particular will be incorporated by the council, and in this group, the names of Prof I. Manrakhan, Prof G. Mohammedbhai, Drs Claude Ricaud, Julien, and Williams, and Mr Dupont de Rivaltz de St Antoine, director of the Mauritian Research Institute, have been mentioned.

5157

CSO: 4719/1291

FORMER MINISTER REPORTEDLY FLEES INVESTIGATION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Aug 82 p 13

[Article by Tim Clarke]

[Text]

**A FORMER** leading member of the Mauritian Cabinet of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam has fled the Indian Ocean island after a crack-down by the newly elected Left-wing coalition Government.

This was disclosed to The Citizen this week by a leading Durban businessman who was born in Mauritius and who still has regular contact with the island.

The businessman said the man had fled Mauritius after the new Government, headed by Mr Anerood Jugnauth, had ordered a widespread investigation into malpractices and corruption on the island in the past 10 years.

He said the passports of several leading Mauritian citizens had been seized during the investigations to prevent them fleeing the island.

Whites on the island were generally more than satisfied so far with the moves being made by the coalition to clean up malpractices at Government and Ministerial level.

He added that the police had begun investigating corruption and bribery involving senior

members of the former Government.

A number of leading citizens outside the Government had also been questioned at length about foreign aid given to the island's sugar industry.

The businessman pointed to the fact that Mauritius had been given substantial aid by several Western powers and also by countris in the Far East in the past few years.

One of the questions the new Left-wing coalition wants answered is what happened to this aid.

The power behind the party's leadership, Mr Paul Berenger, made an election promise that he would clean up corruption and malpractices.

The coalition swept into power, winning all but one of the 66 seats in the main Chamber of Deputies.

So far, according to the businessman, the Mauritian Government has not made any provocative statements against South Africa, nor has it made any attempt to curb the thousands of South African tourists.

## BRIEFS

MMM TO ELECT EXECUTIVES IN JULY--An assembly of MMM delegates was scheduled for Sunday, 4 July for the purpose of reorganizing the party's central committee. The reorganization will be necessary because some of the present central committee members will be called upon to assume ministerial responsibilities in the near future. Aneerood Jugnauth and Paul Berenger will resign as chairman and secretary general of the party and other members will be named to succeed them. Nominations for the elections to the central committee will be received by the secretary general until Friday 25 June. The MMM central committee will meet on Saturday the 26th. Some 35 members will be named to take seats on the central committee. Of these, 15 members will be elected at the national level and 20 others will be elected on the regional level. The decision to reorganize the central committee was made at a meeting of the political bureau yesterday. [Text] [Port Louis LE NOUVEAU MILITANT in French 14 Jun 82 p 1] 8956

LUTCHMEENARAIDOO PROMISES TO SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT--Because his absence from the governmental team could give rise to various interpretations, particularly since the possibility of naming him a ministerial post was announced recently, we asked Mr Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, second deputy of the Riviere des Anguilles/Souillac district, for a statement. Here it is: "I was to be minister of the Plan and Development Ministry in the new government. But that ministry was given to the PSM during negotiations to create the MMM/PSM Alliance. When the new government was formed, 3 days ago, the PSM, having its own internal constraints, was not able to give the ministry in question to the MMM. The MMM/PSM Alliance made formal commitments to the people and the priority remains economic recovery and the creation of jobs. In this context of solidarity with the governmental team, I decided therefore that whether or not I am a minister, I will help the finance minister, Mr Paul Berenger, with the heavy burden he has been given." [Text] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 16 Jun 92 p 1] 8956

CSO: 4719/1138

## MOZAMBIQUE

### BRIEFS

LIKELY PORTUGUESE MILITARY ATTACHE--The Portuguese embassy in Maputo will have a military attache, and the ex-ANOP [Portuguese News Agency] has learned from an unofficial source that Col Eduardo Velasco has already been designated to fill the post. The creation of the post of military attache (which is still tentative pending publication of the respective decree) was proposed by Mozambican authorities themselves when Eanes visited Mozambique last November. The sources contacted by the ex-ANOP indicated that the selection of Colonel Velasco (currently a member of the armed forces general staff) was made from among a group of colonels who were candidates for the post. With this measure--which comes at a time when the development of military cooperation between the two countries is in the offing--Portugal becomes the second Western country (after Great Britain) to accredit a military attache in Maputo. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 5 Aug 82 p 7] 10992

PARTY, YOUTH CADRES TO USSR--A group of cadres from Mozambique party schools and Mozambique Youth Organization [OJM] elements recently left for the USSR for a number of courses. The party cadres, numbering 20, will undertake a 6-month study course at the Lenin International Institute, while the OJM elements will take part in a 10-month course to upgrade their qualifications [curso de capacitacao] at the higher school of the Lenin Komsomol. [Text] [EA061534 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0700 GMT 6 Sep 82]

CSO: 4742/392

## NIGERIA

### REGISTRATION FOR ELECTIONS TO CONTINUE 2 WEEKS

Paris AFRICA AFP in English No 2925, 20 Aug 82 p 15

[Text] Lagos, August 18--Registration of voters for next year's general elections in Nigeria began Monday and will continue for two weeks.

According to the Government-owned NEW NIGERIAN newspaper, in the registration of voters carried out on a house-to-house basis in 1979 about 48 million people put down their names.

The total population of Nigeria is estimated at 90 million.

Official figures show that only 16 million people voted in the 1979 presidential election, while 15 million each voted in the governorship and state houses of assembly elections.

Fourteen million voted in elections for the House of Representatives and 12 million in the senatorial election.

Voter registration is to be carried out differently this year. The electorate is being asked to go and register at centres built throughout the country for the exercise.

According to national press reports, many registration centres had not been erected until Sunday in some states as a result of late release of funds by the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO).

FEDECO Chairman Mr Justice Ovie-Whiskey in a radio and TV broadcast Sunday night called on all Nigerians over 18 to register at their nearest registration centre.

Advertisements urging people to register are being used daily on radio, on TV and in newspapers.

### Illiteracy Problem

Some newspapers reported that party officials of all registered parties were calling on voters to encourage them to register.

But a survey by the privately owned NATIONAL CONCORD newspaper showed that the majority of Nigeria's electorate, which is largely illiterate, did not understand the significance of the exercise.

Five political parties dominate Nigerian politics: the National Party (NPN) headed by President Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the Unity Party (UPN) led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP) led by Chief Azikiwe, the Great Nigeria Peoples Party (GNPP) led by Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim and the People's Redemption Party (PRP) led by Malam Aminu Kano.

A new contender, the Nigeria Advance Party (NAP), led by Lagos-based lawyer Tunji Braithwaite, was registered by FEDECO about two months ago. Four of the main political groups--the UPN, NPP, GNPP and PRP--are now trying to come together as "progressives" to form an alliance known as Progressive Parties Alliance (PPA). (A.F.P.)

CSO: 4700/1809

BRIEFS

POSSIBLE REGISTRATION BREAKDOWN--The revision of voters' register scheduled to take-off all over the federation as from tomorrow may not see the light in some states. This is because reports reaching the SUNDAY TRIUMPH from various offices of FEDECO in the federation indicate that the publicity campaigns launched by the Commission recently had not been effective enough. [Text]  
[Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 15 Aug 82 p 1]

OIL FOUND IN BORNO--Six probable locations of petroleum deposits have been discovered in the North Eastern part of Borno State. Although the locations were not indicated, the General Manager of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation in charge of exploration division, Mr G.A. Adams, said investigations to determine the availability of oil products started six years ago in the area. Mr Adams was exchanging views with Governor Mohammed Goni at the Borno State Government House recently. It will be recalled that the NNPC has for sometime been carrying out oil exploration activities in some parts of Borno State notably around the Chad Basin Area. Although the recent discovery has not been officially confirmed by the NNPC or the Federal Government. [Text]  
[Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 15 Aug 82 p 12]

MORE RICE PRODUCTION URGED--The Commissioner for Agriculture, Chief Nweke Anyigor, has called on the management of ADARICE Company to expedite action for more production of rice at Okpuitumo rice project in Ndulu, Ikwo local government area. Speaking at a rally at Okpuitumo, Commissioner Anyigor urged farmers applying for agricultural loans to do so before the planting season to enable his ministry to finish the processing of applications in time. On development projects in the area, Chief Anyigor commended the community for embarking on a health centre and a levy of ₦10.00 on each adult for the building of a new college. He pointed out that such gesture would go a long way in complimenting the state government's even development programmes. The commissioner warned NPN agents in the area to desist from deceiving the people with false promises. He called on the people to maintain their unalloyed support for the NPP and Governor Jim Nwobodo's government. He appealed to NPP women and youth wings in the area to generate more awareness and educate the people on progressive activities of NPP to help the masses. [Text] [Enugu DAILY STAR in English 11 Aug 82 p 3]

CSO: 4700/1810

## SOUTH AFRICA

### SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE DISCUSSED

Paris POLITIQUE ETRANGERE in French No 2, Jan 82 pp 429-440

[Article by Klaus Baron von der Ropp, legal expert: "The Future of South Africa"]

#### First Signs of Civil War

[Text] In early 1982, Willem de Klerk, an influential Afrikaners journalist and prominent member of the NP [National Party of South Africa], the governing party, quoted in his weekly newspaper RAPPORT the remarks of an "enlightened" or reformist NP deputy: "If fundamental changes do not occur rapidly, before the end of this decade white and black extremists will be negotiating the surrender of white South Africa."<sup>1</sup> For the first time no doubt, an Afrikaner newspaper predicted the danger which the English-language press has been forecasting for the past few years; English speaking critics of apartheid have often spoken out aggressively and bitterly.

Several warning voices were previously heard among the Afrikaners. In January 1981, Ton Vosloo, editor in chief of BEELD, another progovernment newspaper, suggested that the government initiate dialogue on the future of the Republic of South Africa with the ANC [African National Congress], probably the most powerful liberation movement in black South Africa.<sup>2</sup> As early as March 1980, influenced by the electoral victory of Robert G. Mugabe's nationalist party in Zimbabwe, the daily newspapers close to power advised white leaders to discuss South African domestic problems with true representatives of the Blacks.

These commentaries were important at the time--for the first time, supporters of P.W. Botha's government recognized that the authentic representatives of black South Africans were not the puppet leaders installed to govern the Bantustans; but the nationalist movements--the ANC, INKATHA, the PAC [Pan Africanist Congress] and its extensions, the BCM [Black Consciousness Movement] and AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization].

## The Challenge of Azania

However, it appears that only a small minority of Afrikanerdom has truly become aware of the consequences of the increasingly open revolt of Azania (the term used by a growing number of Blacks to designate the Republic of South Africa) against the apartheid regime whose racist, oppressive nature Blacks have always emphasized.

Even though Pretoria controls and governs the country in all sovereignty, no one can ignore the signs of active resistance: the attacks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC guerrilla army, the ANC guerrilla raids against symbols of the government (police stations, Bantu administrative offices, army recruiting offices, etc) and industrial installations, angry demonstrations of hatred during the funerals of people who played important roles in the struggle for the liberation of Blacks; boycotts of schools and universities and the increasing activity of the ever more politicized trade unions. Because of this situation, black and white Africa and the rest of the world waited in vain for a specific response from Prime Minister P.W. Botha who seems, for the moment, to be doing nothing to avoid war in southern Africa and not thinking about the consequences of the policy of apartheid, the original cause of the present crisis.<sup>3</sup>

Consequently, may the following scenario soon happen? In December 1981, a liberal South African newspaper, FRONTLINE, had a drawing on page one showing Johannesburg devastated by war with only the ruins of the Carlton Centre, a luxury hotel and the pride of the old South African capital, standing in the midst of the debris; the caption read: "A future that must not be." In his editorial that same day, Denis Beckett specified that such a long-term conclusion was increasingly likely.<sup>4</sup> In this context, we can only regret that a small number of black and white South Africans have the wisdom of two of their compatriots. Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and David Welsh wrote about the most violent extremists among them: "The only hope for a certain consensus is that the forces at work now have a precise idea about the abyss of violence, economic disaster and the countless suffering which would result from unlimited conflict."<sup>5</sup>

## Weaknesses and Strengths of the Parties in Conflict

Too many young rebellious Blacks overestimate their revolutionary power (the Blacks represent 70 percent of the total population) and underestimate the strength of the resistance of white South Africans (17 percent), their absolute determination, even among the most liberal, to defend the existence of their white African nation. We fear that only the trauma and sufferings of a civil war would make black leaders listen to Gatsha Buthelezi, the president of the powerful INKATHA movement and the only moderate black leader seeking compromise formulas and still having a large audience. Buthelezi clearly understood the attitude of

most Whites when he said: "I understand better than most people the reality of white power. I know better than most the determination of the Whites to scorch the earth at the 11th hour and die defending an indefensible situation."<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, the traditional racism of the Whites,<sup>7</sup> their braggart (kragdadigheid) mentality, ideological blindness and religious belief in the righteousness of their policy of separate development cause them to minimize the discontent and subversive spirit of the Blacks and consequently, overestimate their own ability to suppress the liberation movement.

Confronted with this extreme polarization of attitudes and the danger of the destruction of South Africa and neighboring countries, we may fear, as Egon Bahr, a German social democrat, said that the problems of South Africa could (because of the strategic and economic importance of this country) lead to a global conflict<sup>8</sup> and wonder if it is still possible to avoid, or at least limit this threat of war. This is all the more worrisome because according to Jack E. Spence, an expert in strategic matters, Pretoria might resort to nuclear weapons to prevent the annihilation of Afrikanerdom.<sup>9</sup> We must share Gatsha Buthelezi's view when in 1978 at the Road Ahead Conference in Grahamstown, he said: "Constitutional developments in southern Africa will be the byproducts of cannon balls and violence."

To respond to these dramatic statements, we must analyze recent events in white South Africa and more particularly within the NP.

#### Changes in the Political Attitude of White South Africans

From its inception, the NP has been, above all, the party of Afrikaners, considered a kind of popular movement (volksbeweging) of their people (volk) of Dutch-French-German backgrounds. Since its accession to power in 1948, the NP has propagated and institutionalized apartheid, in other words, the policy of separate development for Blacks and, what is less well-known, of parallel development for the Colored (10 percent of the population) and the Indians (3 percent), the two groups together making up what is usually designated by the term Browns.

#### The Decline of the English-speaking Political Culture

Although English-speaking South Africans have long fought honestly against apartheid and called for "equal rights for all civilized peoples," in other words, a policy of progressive integration of the Blacks and Browns in a white society, now in 1982 most of them no longer protest against the policy of segregation.

The successive "betrayals" by British governments of the British communities, especially those of Kenya and Zimbabwe, the fact that many of these colonists came to live in South Africa, the multiplication of authoritarian governments in black Africa, the economic decline of part of the African continent and finally, the radicalization of the black opposition in the Republic of South Africa have gradually caused the majority of "Brits" to rally round the camp of the "Boers." Since 1974, the arrival in the Republic of the Cape of 200,000 Portuguese refugees from Angola and Mozambique and some 80,000 Rhodesian Whites has only reinforced the most reactionary wing of the ruling party. Moreover, the current political evolution of Zimbabwe may make the opinion of the Brits more radical and lead to, on one hand, a merger between the majority of the NRP [New Republic Party], the traditional political organization of English speakers, and the NP and, on the other hand, the rallying of a minority to one of the extremist South African parties.

A single example illustrates the fact that today the Brits are no more liberal than the Afrikaners--the evolution of the RAND DAILY MAIL. It is a quality, English-language daily, deeply committed to the values of a multiracial society and has long fought apartheid more persistently than any other white newspaper. However, several years ago, two separate editions were published, one for black readers, the other for the Whites, sometimes having different contents. Thus, on 13 March 1982, the black edition published on page one a large photo of a demonstration of black women and children on a hunger strike in the cathedral of Saint George in Kaapstad to get the government to allow them to live with their husbands or fathers in the Cape. Page one of the white edition was devoted to a cricket match between South Africa and England. Whites and Blacks live within the same borders, in totally different worlds, with nothing in common any more, or very little.

#### Tensions Within the Governmental Party

At the very time when we see a rapprochement between the English speakers and the Afrikaners, marked cleavages have appeared within the NP. We can distinguish three main factions: the extremists rallying round Andries Treurnicht, NP leader from Transvaal; the rightist conservatives gathered around Prime Minister P.W. Botha and finally the liberal conservatives made up of university professors from Stellenbosch, RAU/Johannesburg and Potchefstroom, businessmen, Afrikaner journalists and some NP deputies.

The internal evolution of the NP, the Afrikaner popular movement, has obviously led to serious tensions. Back in 1969, a first split occurred: a group of extremists headed by Jaap Marais left the NP and formed a far-right party, the HNP [Herstigte Nasionale Party], which in April 1981 gained 14 percent of the vote.

However, the real split occurred in 1982. In March, Treurnicht formed the KP [Konserwatiewe Party]. No one can still say whether the KP or the NP of P.W. Botha, formerly all-powerful in South Africa obtained the votes of April 1981. There is no doubt that the KP has much greater support than it seems (in fact, only 16 deputies out of 131 left the NP). For the moment, this party is still poorly organized but it may become important especially if it becomes allied with the HNP of Jaap Marais. The KP program is simple: "Die stryd duur voort!" which means struggle to maintain the status quo.

#### Some Aspects of the New Policy of P.W. Botha

What is the program of P.W. Botha, who is a true political professional but lacks constructive ideas and is not very innovative?

The concept of parallel development for the Browns included the creation in the white nation, of executive and legislative organizations similar to those of the Whites. In reality, these institutions--Colored Persons' Representative Council, South African Indian Council--which on paper granted some local autonomy to the Browns, had no power at all. Thus, from their creation, Colored and Indians have always more or less boycotted them. The action of this policy had at least one effect, that of making the government more liberal only toward the Browns. Indeed, in an article which appeared in NAT 80'S,<sup>10</sup> a small NP propaganda brochure, Jan Groblar raised the possibility of a healthy power sharing or coresponsibility (in Afrikaans, gesonde magsdeling or medeverantwoordelikheid) between the three minority groups, Whites, Colored and Indians. It should be mentioned that the publication of these proposals led to the departure of Treurnicht and the 15 extremist deputies from the NP.

Some 2 years ago, Pretoria instituted the President's Council, an organization whose main function, along with others, was to advise the government on constitutional matters. Once again, Blacks were not invited to take part in this organization. Parties representing the Browns boycotted it.<sup>11</sup> However, it took 18 months for this council, after long deliberations, to make specific, positive proposals similar to those Jan Groblar mentioned in his article. Several constitutional projects were proposed. The communes of the Colored and the Indians were to have the same legal and political status as the Whites': in the event that neither community had a sufficient number of people, a joint municipality for Whites and Browns was to be created. The four current provinces (Transvaal, Natal, Orange Freestate and the Cape) were to be abolished. South Africa--outside the Bantustans (Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei)--would henceforth be divided into 10 regions: members of the regional executive and legislative bodies would be elected from separate ballots for each community. Moreover, the Bantustans which had not opted for "independence"

(Kwazulu, Lebowa, Gasunkulu...) would have the same status as the 10 regions mentioned above. Colored and Indians (but not Blacks) could, like the Whites, send deputies to Parliament at Kaapstad. Suffrage, universal or limited, according to certain criteria (level of education, for example), would be the same for the three groups. At the national government level, political power would be shared by representatives of the three communities, whose number would be set, according to a formula in the constitution, to form in some way "large permanent coalitions." However, the activities of Parliament and the government would be limited by the establishment of a presidency which would preside over the executive. The new South African head of state, who theoretically could be Colored or Indian, would have presidential power similar to that of the president of the current French Republic.

Hopeful about these reform proposals, some people thought that they would only be the first stage in extending these measures to more than 20 million Blacks, or at least to those living outside the Bantustans.<sup>12</sup> That was a hazardous speculation about the future. Not only would the application of these measures result in the domination of 4.8 million Whites, 2.5 million Colored and .8 million Indians by the black majority but it was clearly apparent that the various political, cultural and social systems which confront each other were totally incompatible and could only lead to a democratic government if the rights of each person were respected.<sup>13</sup>

We had to expect that Pretoria would pursue its policy of separate development for the Blacks since the leaders could conceive of no other alternative. If P.W. Botha succeeded in passing reforms for the Browns, his power would be increasingly threatened. After 30 years of apartheid, many Whites would feel betrayed, might reject him and turn toward more extremist parties. In any case, if the new policy of healthy power sharing between the Whites and the Browns was implemented, the problems raised by the presence of 20 million South African Blacks without legal or political status would not be solved.

The solution of dividing the country radically into two parts has been raised.<sup>14</sup> Good frontiers can in spite of everything make good neighbors. We must not deceive ourselves, as for the Indian subcontinent and Cyprus, this division of South Africa could only come after a war. Neither community is ready to accept it today. Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert was right when he wrote that this solution would be the ultimate option of retreat in a stalemated military situation. Then the demarcation line would be determined by the military positions of the two parties on the field and not defined by a concern for equilibrium, respect and the well-being of the people.<sup>15</sup>

## Azania's Response to Apartheid

Confronted with Pretoria's intransigence, Azania could only take a harder line and enter into increasingly active opposition. This opposition is divided, indeed even split, and it is difficult to know which of the various movements (ANC, INKATHA and PCA are illegal and there is the BCM and AZAPO) is the most powerful.

## Some of Azania's Ideas on the Future of South Africa

The program of these various parties on the constitutional and political future of the country can easily be summed up by the inscription on Steve Biko's grave (he "died" in prison in October 1977): "One Azania, one nation," which means "one man, one vote in a single nation." Henceforth, their primordial goal is to obtain political power, by all means at Azania's disposal. Once this goal is achieved, it will finally be able to change the economic, social and cultural structures as it wishes.

One question remains unanswered. Are there still black political parties ready to talk with Pretoria about compromise formulas which constitutionally guarantee the rights and existence of the white and brown minorities?

If we eliminate the governing parties, the Bantustans which have no power and even appeal to Pretoria to combat the guerrilla activities of the ANC and the trade union activities,<sup>16</sup> the only black force to reckon with in the reserves is INKATHA.

In March 1982, the Buthelezi commission, in the name of the president of INKATHA, brought together South African and foreign experts and published proposals to establish a new political, economic and social order in the Province of Natal<sup>17</sup> where 80 percent of the population is black (Indians represent 11 percent and Whites, 9 percent). The essence of these proposals was in sharing political power between the three communities, according to a system of agreement. The members of this commission hoped that these reforms, once implemented in Natal would produce good results and thus serve as a model for other South African provinces.

No one was surprised when the government vehemently rejected these proposals, despite some favorable commentary in the press, including the Afrikaner press.<sup>18</sup> What surprised the public was that the government expressed its refusal in a way which was humiliating for the leader of INKATHA.

Such an attitude of the South African leaders can no longer be considered a sign of strength in 1982. Was it possible that Pretoria realized that a unilateral agreement with INKATHA would no longer be enough to restore

peace between white South Africa and Azania? Although these leaders were aware of the various articles already mentioned, in particular Ton Vosloo's, urging them to talk with the ANC, apparently they still did not understand the significance of the message.

However, are ANC, or even the PAC, BCM and AZAPO still willing to talk with Pretoria about the country's future? Perhaps Nthato Motlana, the chairman of the powerful "committee of ten" (Soweto), expressed the ANC viewpoint (but certainly not that of the most radical factions) when he mentioned two prerequisites to all negotiations with the government: guarantee the participation of the most important leaders, in prison or in exile, and have an agenda specifying that these negotiations were to define methods to suppress apartheid and establish a nonracial democratic society.<sup>19</sup>

Quite rightly, Pretoria considers these conditions unacceptable because they mean accepting the system of "one man, one vote in the nation." If we consider the military and economic power of white South Africa, we must recognize that the attitude of some black leaders is unrealistic and naive and point out again that it does not take into consideration the determination of the white African nation to safeguard its existence. We must again emphasize that Pretoria will not accept these prerequisites unless forced to militarily. Although some young black nationalists claim that the Whites have already lost control of a portion of the nation, this does not seem to correspond to the facts. Perhaps the South African government can no longer suppress the struggle for liberation by the Blacks and hide the demonstrations, but we must recognize that the Whites still govern the country in all sovereignty.

### The Liberation Struggles

The most radical liberation movements have learned lessons from the situation described above and are using other methods to combat it. The most striking fact currently is the return to a situation similar to that of the 50's when the Congress Alliance brought together the ANC (black) and three movements partially aligned with the South African Communist Party (illegal, very close to Moscow) representing the three minority ethnic groups--the South African Indian Congress, the South African Colored People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats (Whites). Thus today, we see that white South Africans (and citizens from one or two Western European countries) took part in the ANC raid of August 1981 against the military complex of Voortrekkerhoogte.<sup>20</sup> Comparing their struggle to the PLO's against Israel, the black nationalists claim three important advantages which make the armed struggle fought by Azania difficult to contain: the length of the South African borders, the enormous size of the country and the importance of the fifth column.

If we wish to evaluate Azania's prospects for conquering and controlling Pretoria militarily, we must admit that the determination of white South Africans to maintain their existence and identity can only be compared to that of the Israelis and the Jewish nation. It must be noted that unfortunately a sizable number of young black revolutionaries refuse to recognize that South Africa is not another Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique or Algeria. Some, the most fanatic among them, unhesitatingly state that the sacrifice of 4 million Whites and 15 million Blacks will be necessary to establish at last a free Azania. Denis Beckett clearly described<sup>21</sup> the consequences of a policy based on this thesis: "The truth is that a revolution will not be successful now or in the future. No doubt, one day we will see a black government come to power but such an event cannot in itself be considered a success, if the price is the total devastation of the nation. Ultimately, that will be the price."

Despite the many attacks by the ANC, the PAC and the BCM, the repercussions of the criminal trials of their leaders, trade union activities have become the most visible and perhaps the most important part of the struggle for liberation. After the liberalization of the labor law in 1979-1980, most demonstrations against apartheid have been initiated by the increasingly politicized unions.<sup>22</sup> The increase in strikes--most often illegal--organized in close collaboration with civic organizations<sup>23</sup> for political reasons may adversely affect the smooth functioning of the highly developed South African economy which is very sensitive to any disruption. Yet certain factors still limit the effectiveness of trade union activities.<sup>24</sup> They do not have large strike funds and lack experienced officials and leaders. The percentage of unionized workers remains small and the young trade union movement is divided and split for political and ideological reasons. To date, all attempts at unification have failed. Moreover, there is no solidarity between white and black workers. On the contrary, some Indian, Colored and young white intellectuals, like Dr Neil Aggett who hanged himself in prison and whose funeral in March 1982 sparked a demonstration against apartheid, support the struggle of black nationalists.

If occasionally there is solidarity between black and brown workers, most often it is precarious and limited by the Coloreds' and Indians' fears that a black government will take power. Whatever the grievances of young brown leaders, especially the students with their demonstrations of solidarity, what Fatima Meer, now banished, wrote more than 10 years ago about the Indians remains true: "He (the Indian) has reached the point where he considers the Afrikaner nationalism which he knows preferable to black nationalism, the only possible alternative, about which he has heard horror stories."<sup>25</sup>

If, in 1982, it is impossible to know whether South Africa or Azania will finally win out, it is on the other hand easy to see that any

conflict enveloping South Africa with its considerable economic and strategic importance will lead to an international crisis seriously affecting East-West and West-South relations.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Dit sal kragtoer kos vir deurbraak," Rapport, Johannesburg, 14 February 1982 and "Regse groepe wys hul stem krag," Rapport, 4 March 1982.
2. "Soos Swapo, le die ANC woor," Beeld, Johannesburg, 9 January 1981.
3. See William Gutteridge, "Strategy for Survival," The Black Sash, Johannesburg, January 1982, pp 5-15.
4. "Can It Come to This?" Frontline, Johannesburg, November-December 1981, pp 38-39.
5. Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and David Welsh, "South Africa's Options: Strategies for Sharing Power," New York and Kaapstad, 1978, p 119.
6. "Christian Perspectives of the Black Liberation Struggle in South Africa," South African Outlook, Rondebosch, September 1979, p 137.
7. It is often expressed, for example, in sentences with implications: "Every white man can take 10 kaffirs with him before he is done in!"
8. In "Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt," Hamburg, 10 July 1977, p 8.
9. "South Africa: The Nuclear Option," African Affairs, London, No 10, 1981, pp 441-452.
10. Jan Groblar, "Die nuwe uitdaging," Nat 80's, Kaapstad, No 2, 1982, p 5.
11. See Vincent Farrel, "The Real Leadership of the Oppressed Will Never Serve on the President's Council," Deurbraak, Kaapstad, No 10, 1980, pp 8-9; David Curry, "President's Council--Like a Wedding Without the Bride," Capes Times, Kaapstad, 1 October 1980.
12. See Hermann Giliomee, "The Parting of the Ways for SA Politics," Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 17 March 1982, p 9; Ton Vosloo, "Anno Domini 2002," Frontline, No 4, 1982, pp 36-37.

13. For a comparison, see Heribert Adam, "Political Alternatives," in Heribert Adam and Hermann Giliomee, *Ethnic Power Mobilized: Can South Africa Change?* New Haven and London, 1979, pp 286-302 (286-296); see also Lawrence Schlemmer, "Social Implication of Constitutional Alternatives in South Africa," in John Benyon (ed), *"Constitutional Change in South Africa,"* Pietermaritzburg, p 266.
14. See Willem de Klerk, "Is Dit Die Grafskrift?" *Die Transvaler*, Johannesburg, 3 March 1982, p 10; Klaus Baron von der Ropp, "Afrique du Sud: Solution par Partage du Pouvoir ou Division du Pays?" [South Africa: Solution by Sharing Power or Dividing the Country?] *Le Mois en Afrique*, Paris, October-November 1981, p 36, following Jurgen Blenck and Klaus Baron von der Ropp, "Republic of South Africa: Is Partition a Solution?" *South African Journal of African Affairs*, Pretoria, No 1, 1977, pp 21-32; Gavin Maasdorp, "Forms of Partition," in Robert I. Rotberg and John Barratt (eds) *The Apartheid Regime and Racial Domination*, Berkeley, 1980, pp 107-146.
15. Slabbert and Welsh, op. cit., p 169.
16. See Patrick Laurence, "Transkei: Lurking Threat of the ANC," *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September 1981; see also by an anonymous author, "Organised Labour in East London," *South African Outlook*, No 2, 1981, pp 13-14.
17. Consult the seven volumes of the Buthelezi Commission, published by the Inkatha Institute, Durban.
18. See *Die Transvaler*, 9 March 1982; *Beeld*, 9 and 11 March 1982.
19. "We Have Pride, Too, Mr Botha," *Frontline*, Nos 7-8, 1981, pp 33-34; see by the same author, "Perceptions of Change: Dilemmas and White Rights," *Frontline*, May 1980, p 22.
20. See "Rocket HQ Traced," *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 March 1982, pp 1-3.
21. Denis Beckett, op. cit.
22. See the articles in the *South African Labour Bulletin*, Durban.
23. One of these organizations is Pebco [Port Elizabeth Klack Civic Organisation.] On Pebco, see Carole Cooper and Linda Ensor, *Pebco: A Black Mass Movement*, Johannesburg, 1981.

24. See Craig Charney, "The Anatomy of South African Trade Unionism," The Star, Johannesburg, 27 January 1981, pp 24-25.
25. "Indian People: Current Trends and Politics," pp 13-32 (30), in South African Minorities, Johannesburg, 1971.

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SOURCES OF OIL FLOW REPORTED

Kuwait ARAB OIL in English No 8, Aug 82 pp 8-15

[Article by Anna Helal: "Where Does South Africa Get Its Oil From?"]

[Text]

**O**IL continues to flow to South Africa, a racist country disowned almost by the entire family of nations, because exporters are often deliberately misled about the destination of purchased cargo, an independent report just published states.

South Africa is still able to secure about 15 million tons of oil annually, worth over 3,000 million dollars, despite an international consensus on preventing such imports and a December 1981 UN resolution to this end ratified by 126 states, it is revealed.

Arab Gulf oil exporting countries are meanwhile among those states determined to enforce such an embargo and yet they have often been 'deliberately deceived through elaborate methods of subterfuge' about the real identity of their customers for crude oil.

More than one half of the ships, identified by the researchers as 'most likely' to have delivered oil to South Africa sailed from the Gulf, in clear violation of the exporters' wishes.

The report published by a Netherlands based Shipping Research Bureau, a non-profit research organization, tries to pinpoint loopholes which allow the Pretoria regime to obtain its oil needs. It lists ships, shipping agencies and oil companies which are 'under strong suspicion' being the 'most likely' culprits. The report, second by the bureau, covers a period between January 1980 to June

1981 and it also offers several new suggestions on how to tighten the noose around South Africa's stealthy supply line.

Because of secrecy surrounding the shipments, no official statistics or reports are available and therefore no final proof or startling revelation can be made, the researchers point out.

After analysing for more than a year the movements by world's tanker fleet, the researchers can only point an accusing finger at some of the violators, but clauses must be inserted: 'most likely' or 'possible.' Blame cannot be apportioned with final certainty.

Still, despite these shortcomings, the report brings enough evidence to implicate by name several well-known oil companies, major states involved in the illicit trade as well as methods they use to cover up. Even longer is the list of smaller companies, shipping agents and operators who under various guises bring crude to South Africa.

Most importers, it is pointed out are smaller companies, unknown to the public to prevent recognition and identifications. These companies often manage to make short term profits in millions and ten millions by engaging in the racket.

Identification is made even more difficult by the fact that companies are often bought by other companies while ships can be owned, managed and chartered by totally different operators. Indeed, a major oil company may be quite unaware where its purchased oil is heading and, similarly, a ship owner may be totally innocent, the report says.

How then do you track down the culprit or

rather the culprits in this multi-national, multi interest operation?

As a yardstick for their findings, the researchers have used a relatively obvious logic: if oil is loaded it must also be offloaded. And if the ship which carried the oil had called on a South African port it is highly likely that it had offloaded the cargo there. If it then sailed back to the Gulf and arrived empty it is even more obvious where the oil went, despite of what the official papers stated.

There is also ample proof that certain ships had called on a transshipment ports such as Rotterdam or Singapore.

Other clues are often provided by testimonies of crew members who may have leaked out to the press that their tanker went to South Africa and discharged oil. There is other, indirect, evidence.

A large tanker for instance may have called at Durban, allegedly for loading fuel, but since Durban does not have facilities for bunkering — loading fuel — it is impossible for the ship to have obtained fuel. On the other hand, the report points out, Durban does have facilities to discharge crude oil from large ships.

It is also worth noting that an unusual high proportion of tankers involved in apparent oil deliveries to South Africa are scrapped, sunk, laid up, sold, and/or have their names changed not long after their one or more trips to South Africa.

#### **Old ships**

This suggests that the companies involved prefer to use old ships for their illicit trade so that if ships are subsequently black-listed or impounded, consequences for the operators will not be too severe.

In pursuit of its inquiry, the bureau has identified a total of 256 ships over 25,000 tons deadweight that are capable of carrying crude oil cargoes and that did call at South Africa between January 1, 1980 and June 30, 1981.

The researchers wrote to the companies and countries linked to those ships and thereafter were able to cull 52 carriers which were labeled as 'most likely' to have delivered. A further 29 carriers were listed as 'possible' violators.

According to the researchers' estimates, if every one of the 'most likely' ships have made actual deliveries then together they had supplies over 10 million tons of crude, equivalent to about half of South Africa's imports over that period.

According to the analysis, three oil com-

panies owned the disputed cargo most likely to have ended up in South Africa. Those companies are Shell, Transworld Oil and Vitol, and all three are either partly or wholly based in the Netherlands. But the companies in most cases did not own or manage the ships which carried the supplies. Twenty-six out of the 52 ships were linked with one or other of these three companies.

#### **Norwegian**

Twenty-one out of 52 ships considered to be most likely to have delivered crude oil were owned and managed by Norwegian companies and flew the Norwegian flag. Other countries whose ships were heavily involved are the United Kingdom and Denmark. It is interesting to note that except for Britain which voted against, all the three other above mentioned countries voted for the UN favored oil embargo, not mandatory, adopted in 1981. So as to eliminate any accusation of guesswork, the report stresses that the research bureau "would not publish the name of any companies until a clear evidence is established linking them with oil deliveries to South Africa."

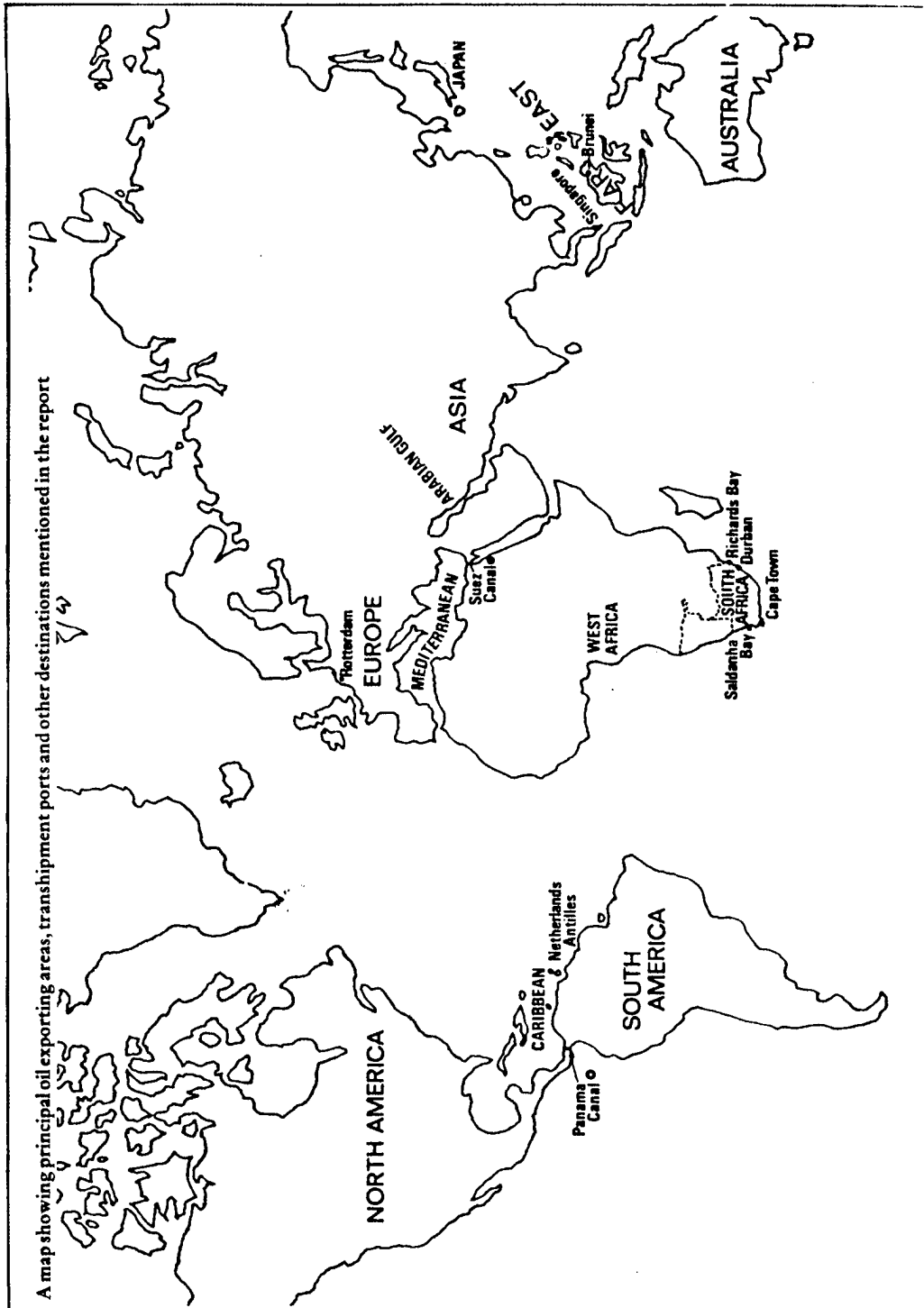
#### **Evasive**

But in the process of establishing such evidence, many companies were clearly evasive. It has become obvious that destination for different cargoes were often changed after a carrier sailed from an oil exporting country and only some companies were forthcoming by spelling out clearly they were not involved. "Our trade with other black African countries, especially Nigeria, prevents us from risking the relationship by using tankers which have or had connections with South Africa," one company replied.

Clearly, some companies are very keen to steer clear of any accusation and there is therefore a way of tightening the boycott screw, the report suggests.

The result of all the correspondence with companies and governments, checking and double-checking is the publication of a convincing chart which lists hundreds of ships, cargo owners, charterers and flags under whose guise the cargo must have been delivered.

Case study no 61 for instance lists Norse King of 231,759 deadweight, a tanker which sailed under the Norwegian flag from the Arabian Gulf to South Africa and back, notably to Qatar. Manager and owner of the ship were Odd Godager and Co, of Norway. An



Ship's name	Deadwt. tonnage	Ship type	Country whose flag the ship used	Shipping company which is/was manager of the ship	Country in which managing company of the ship is based	Country in which registered owner of the ship is based	Shipping company which is/was apparent beneficial owner of the ship	Country in which apparent beneficial owner of the ship is based
ALBAHAA B.	239,410	oil tanker	LIBERIA	WALLEE SHIPMANAGEMENT LTD. <sup>2/</sup>	HONG KONG	LIBERIA	PALM SHIPPING <sup>1/</sup>	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BERGE SEPTIMUS	284,512	oil tanker	NORWAY	SIG. BERGESEN <sup>6/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	SIG. BERGESEN <sup>6/</sup>	NORWAY
BERGE SEPTIMUS	284,512	oil tanker	NORWAY	SIG. BERGESEN <sup>6/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	SIG. BERGESEN <sup>6/</sup>	NORWAY
FLEURTJE	222,592	oil tanker	NETH.- ANTILLES	SCHLÜSSEL REEDEREI BERCEDERUNGS <sup>10/</sup>	F. R. GERMANY	NETH.- ANTILLES	UNKNOWN COMPANY	UNKNOWN
FLEURTJE	222,592	oil tanker	NETH.- ANTILLES	SCHLÜSSEL REEDEREI BERCEDERUNGS <sup>10/</sup>	F. R. GERMANY	NETH.- ANTILLES	UNKNOWN COMPANY	UNKNOWN
HAVDROTT	240,259	oil tanker	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY
HAVDROTT	240,259	oil tanker	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY
HAVDROTT	240,259	oil tanker	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY
HAVDROTT	240,259	oil tanker	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY
HAVDROTT	240,259	oil tanker	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY
HAVDROTT	240,259	oil tanker	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY
HAVDROTT	240,259	oil tanker	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY
HAVDROTT	240,259	oil tanker	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY
HAVDROTT	240,259	oil tanker	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	HAVTOR <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY
KAREN MAERCH	337,816	oil tanker	DENMARK	A. P. MÖLLER <sup>1/</sup>	DENMARK	DENMARK	A. P. MÖLLER <sup>1/</sup>	DENMARK
LATIRUS	278,220	oil tanker	NETHERLANDS	SHELL <sup>4/</sup>	NETHER- LANDS/ UNITED KINGDOM	NETHER- LANDS	SHELL <sup>4/</sup>	NETHERLANDS/ UNITED KINGDOM
Latirus	278,220	oil tanker	Netherlands	Shell <sup>4/</sup>	Nether- lands/ United Kingdom	Nether- lands	Shell <sup>4/</sup>	Netherlands/ United Kingdom

This chart gives details of ships which are suspected as having unloaded oil at South African ports

ARAB OIL AUGUST 1982

<u>Oil company which apparently owned the ship's presumed oil cargo; and oil company's link with the ship itself</u>	<u>Country in which oil company is based</u>	<u>Country or region from which the ship apparently sailed to South Africa</u>	<u>Month the ship called at South Africa</u>	<u>Country or region to which the ship sailed after South Africa</u>	<u>Principal reason(s) it is considered either that the ship is one of the "most likely" to have delivered crude oil to South Africa (these cases are in capital letters), or that the ship "possibly" made such a delivery (these cases are in small letters)</u>
UNKNOWN COMPANY	UNKNOWN	Arabian Gulf	March '80	Sank off East Africa	The managing company acknowledged to the press that this ship delivered crude oil to South Africa.
SHELL <sup>4/</sup> (time charter)	NETHERLANDS/ UNITED KINGDOM	Netherlands Antilles	April '80	United Arab Emirates	Sailed empty from Europe, but made a considerable detour via a Caribbean crude oil trans-shipment location, from which it then departed with South Africa as its acknowledged destination. (See map.) After South Africa, went to an oil-exporting area.
SHELL <sup>4/</sup> (time charter)	NETHERLANDS/ UNITED KINGDOM	Netherlands Antilles	September '80	Oman	Sailed empty from Europe, but made a considerable detour via a Caribbean crude oil trans-shipment location, from which it then departed with South Africa as its acknowledged destination. (See map.) After South Africa, went to an oil-exporting area.
TRANSWORLD OIL <sup>12/</sup> (time charter)	BERMUDA/ NETHERLANDS	Arabian Gulf	February '80	Oman	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
TRANSWORLD OIL <sup>12/</sup> (time charter)	BERMUDA/ NETHERLANDS	Arabian Gulf	Mar./April '81	Saudi Arabia	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
TRANSWORLD OIL <sup>12/</sup> (time charter)	BERMUDA/ NETHERLANDS	Arabian Gulf	February '80	Oman	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
TRANSWORLD OIL <sup>12/</sup> (time charter)	BERMUDA/ NETHERLANDS	Arabian Gulf	Mar./April '80	Saudi Arabia	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
TRANSWORLD OIL <sup>12/</sup> (time charter)	BERMUDA/ NETHERLANDS	Arabian Gulf	May '80	Oman	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
TRANSWORLD OIL <sup>12/</sup> (time charter)	BERMUDA/ NETHERLANDS	Arabian Gulf	July '80	Oman	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
TRANSWORLD OIL <sup>12/</sup> (time charter)	BERMUDA/ NETHERLANDS	Arabian Gulf	August '80	Arabian Gulf	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
TRANSWORLD OIL <sup>12/</sup> (time charter)	BERMUDA/ NETHERLANDS	Arabian Gulf	October '80	Saudi Arabia	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
TRANSWORLD OIL <sup>12/</sup> (time charter)	BERMUDA/ NETHERLANDS	Arabian Gulf	December '80/ January '81	Iran	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
TRANSWORLD OIL <sup>12/</sup> (time charter)	BERMUDA/ NETHERLANDS	Arabian Gulf	March '81	Bahrain	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
UNKNOWN COMPANY	UNKNOWN	Arabian Gulf	Aug./Sep. '80	Saudi Arabia	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area. Delivery of crude oil to South Africa is confirmed by the Danish Newspaper Land og Folk (10 March 1981).
UNKNOWN COMPANY (time charter)	UNKNOWN	Arabian Gulf	June '81	Denmark	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area. On arrival in South Africa it must have discharged its probable crude oil cargo, because it then loaded coal for Europe.
Shell <sup>4/</sup> (beneficial owner)	Netherlands/ United Kingdom	Netherlands Antilles	March '80	Iraq	Sailed to South Africa from a crude oil trans-shipment location; then continued to an oil-exporting area.

APAB OIL/AUGUST 1982

Ship's name	Deadwt. tonnage	Ship type	Country whose flag the ship used	Shipping company which is/was manager of the ship	Country in which managing company of the ship is based	Country in which registered owner of the ship is based	Shipping company which is/was apparent beneficial owner of the ship	Country in which apparent beneficial owner of the ship is based
MYTILUS	210,292	oil tanker	NETH.-ANTILLES	SHELL	NETHERLANDS/ UNITED KINGDOM	NETH.-ANTILLES	SHELL-	NETHERLANDS/ UNITED KINGDOM
MYTILUS	210,292	oil tanker	NETH.-ANTILLES	SHELL-	NETHERLANDS/ UNITED KINGDOM	NETH.-ANTILLES	SHELL-	NETHERLANDS/ UNITED KINGDOM
PHILIP OF MACKSON	220,050	oil tanker	GREECE	AEGEUS SHIPPING CO. <sup>1/</sup>	GREECE	LIBERIA	M. P. NOMIKOS <sup>1/</sup>	GREECE (?)
REGINA	233,009	oil tanker	NORWAY	H. E. HANSEN-TANGEN <sup>24/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	UNKNOWN COMPANY <sup>26/</sup>	NORWAY
REGINA	233,009	oil tanker	NORWAY	H. E. HANSEN-TANGEN <sup>24/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	UNKNOWN COMPANY <sup>26/</sup>	NORWAY
ROBERT MAJASK	289,166	oil tanker	DENMARK	A. P. MÖLLER <sup>1/</sup>	DENMARK	DENMARK	A. P. MÖLLER <sup>1/</sup>	DENMARK
SIBOSIX	77,300	combined carrier	NORWAY	TSCHUDI & EITZEN <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY	NORWAY	TSCHUDI & EITZEN <sup>1/</sup>	NORWAY
Skyros	100,124	combined carrier	Greece	Eletson Maritime Services <sup>18/</sup>	Greece	Liberia	Eletson Maritime Services <sup>18/</sup>	Greece

The main detours (in nautical miles) made by ships

Actual route by the ship compared to the shortest route possible:	Detour in nautical miles
From Singapore via Arabian Gulf to South Africa compared to: From Singapore directly to South Africa	4,300 m
From N.W. Europe via Caribbean to South Africa compared to: From N.W. Europe directly to South Africa	4,000 m
From N.W. Europe via South Africa to Arabian Gulf compared to: From N.W. Europe via Suez to Arabian Gulf	5,900 m
From N.W. Europe via South Africa to Singapore compared to: From N.W. Europe via Suez to Singapore	4,650 m

Detour in nautical miles showing that the ship could have made a halt at a South African port

ARAB OIL/AUGUST 1982

<u>Oil company which apparently owned the ship's presumed oil cargo; and oil company's link with the ship itself</u>	<u>Country in which oil company is based</u>	<u>Country or region from which the ship apparently sailed to South Africa</u>	<u>Month the ship called at South Africa</u>	<u>Country or region to which the ship sailed after South Africa</u>	<u>Principal reason(s) it is considered either that the ship is one of the "most likely" to have delivered crude oil to South Africa (these cases are in capital letters), or that the ship "possibly" made such a delivery (these cases are in small letters)</u>
<u>SHELL</u> <sup>4/</sup> (beneficial owner)	<u>NETHERLANDS/ UNITED KINGDOM</u>	Arabian Gulf	January '80	Oman	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
<u>SHELL</u> <sup>4/</sup> (beneficial owner)	<u>NETHERLANDS/ UNITED KINGDOM</u>	Arabian Gulf	February '80	United Arab Emirates	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
<u>UNKNOWN COMPANY</u>	<u>UNKNOWN</u>	Arabian Gulf	June '81	Bahrain	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
<u>UNKNOWN COMPANY</u> (voyage charter)	<u>UNKNOWN</u>	Arabian Gulf	September '80	Saudi Arabia	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area, while under charter by an unidentified company to carry 220,000 tons of crude oil; then immediately returned to the same oil-exporting area.
<u>UNKNOWN COMPANY</u>	<u>UNKNOWN</u>	Arabian Gulf	April '81	F. R. Germany	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area. After apparently discharging its cargo in South Africa, the ship went to the assistance of an incapacitated tanker and took its cargo to Europe.
<u>VITOL</u> <sup>27/</sup>	<u>NETHERLANDS</u>	Netherlands	November '80	Bahrain	On departure from Europe, carried a cargo of over 250,000 tons of crude oil. Next port was apparently in South Africa; after that, went to an oil-exporting area.
<u>UNKNOWN COMPANY</u>	<u>UNKNOWN</u>	Arabian Gulf	June '81	France	Sailed to South Africa from an oil-exporting area. Any cargo must have been discharged in South Africa, for the ship then loaded coal for Europe.
		Arabian Gulf	June '81	Greece	Sailed from the Far East and made a considerable detour via an oil-exporting area to South Africa; then to the Mediterranean. The logical route, if this ship was not delivering crude oil to South Africa, would have been either direct from the Far East to South Africa, or direct from the oil-exporting area to the Mediterranean via the Suez Canal. (See map.)

unknown company took possession of the cargo in May 1981 and the final analysis of the case states: "Sailed to South Africa from an oil exporting area while under charter by an unidentified company to carry 220 000 tons of crude oil, then immediately returned to the same oil exporting area."

In some cases, the report points out detours undertaken by ships and suggesting that the tanker was indulging in illicit trading with South Africa. The logical route for certain trips would be much shorter and a detour of often several thousand miles could only be interpreted in one way.

#### **Remote control**

Crude oil therefore does reach South Africa, largely because of what the report terms a 'split control over the oil.' Some control is only exerted by the oil exporting countries, which seek to prevent the oil from reaching South Africa.

The remaining control is exerted by the companies that purchase or transport the oil and these companies are often based in western countries which do not declare selling or transporting oil to South Africa illegal.

Yet despite these problems, it is suggested, there are ways and actions for the oil exporters to at least to make it 'more difficult' for

their oil to be taken where they do not want it to be. Necessary action lies in three areas: monitoring, legislation and enforcement.

Each contract should include a requirement that the oil company must provide documentary and independently verifiable proof that all the oil reaches its destination. In the event of the oil being re-sold, the legal liability to ensure that it does not go to South Africa should rest with the original buyer.

Finally, enforcement of the legislation and contract terms, including the imposition of penalties must be maintained if the embargo is to be truly effective. Companies which breach confidence could be denied future contracts, or they could be otherwise penalized.

The cost and inconvenience of these forms of action are modest in relation to their potential impact on South Africa, the report concludes.

The embargo could be enforced, especially since the departure of the Shah of Iran there is not a single major oil exporting country which does not stand decisively behind the UN motion.

The only exception is Brunei, a tiny British colony in the Far East, but that island only exports a minor quantity of oil.

CSO: 4700/1787

## SOUTH AFRICA

### BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF NEW ARMSCOR CHIEF, A PROGRESS REPORT

#### New Chief

Pretoria PARATUS in Afrikaans Jul 82 pp 44-45

[Text] Students of human exploits speak with high esteem about the astonishing and continuous level of achievements by Free State citizens. Just take note: State presidents, prime ministers, chief justices, cultural giants, scientists and...now and then even a brilliant White Tornado rugby team.

This phenomenon (enigma?) also applies to Mr Frederik Johannes Bell (commonly referred to as Fred Bell), the chief executive director of KRYGKOR [South Africa's Armaments Corporation, (ARMSCOR)] since 1 July, as ascertained in the course of a comprehensive interview. "The Free State culture," replied this refreshing and straightforward man with penetrating blue eyes and a silver-gray mane (although only 55 years old), "lends itself ideally to tranquil thinking, calm understanding and cultivation of self assurance." Are these then the qualities that he would like to see in his fellow men and especially in the 28,000 fulltime employees of ARMSCOR?

The spontaneous and cordial laughter always noted under the surface tells its own story. "I am not going to try to reform the world. Many good things have already been done and this has created a foundation upon which I can build."

#### Productivity

"However, if I were to turn to the 28,000 ARMSCOR's own workers and to the 60,000 workers employed by our contractors, then this would be a call for higher productivity."

"The first thing involved in this concept is selective appointments with the basic idea of trainability built into it. This is no arbitrary or even reactionary attitude. Be assured by the knowledge that ARMSCOR already has excellent training projects. The inputs (manpower in the configuration of this main asset) must of course be trainable so as to provide logic to the existing facility."

"Please also note that a successful trained manpower develops into a happy, motivated personnel fully competent in their jobs. When a person knows that he is being offered equal opportunity in an enlightened personnel policy, then there is no need to get him to do his best by means of threats or pressures. Like my predecessor I am not going to place any artificial limitations to the development of any member of the personnel. But in the same breath I also want to make it clear that ARMSCOR does not owe a career to anybody."

"The philosophy is clear. To give a simple example: A project manager will not have an automatic claim to an official car simply on the basis of his years of service; first of all he will have to prove that he has earned this privilege. He also will have to give evidence that he is a worthy team member of the 10th biggest armaments manufacturer in the world."

"I am also a believer in the healthy principle of interchangeability, namely, mobility within the group. Thus, I am an advocate of the cooperative personnel system and it is better for people to know this right from the start. Naturally such a system implies horizontal priority in the group. I do not want to say too much more about this."

There is also hard work ahead for ARMSCOR's people. But it will be gratifying work, because qualification comes through hard work.

### Three Persons

Hard work? As in his previous position (senior chief administrator, external production) and also throughout his entire career which followed his studies at Witwatersrand in 1948, where he received his BS degree in engineering (heavy current field), hard work was the mark of this boy born in the Voortrekker nursery of Winburg in the Orange Free State. I think it was John Steinbeck who once (surely in a simplistic manner) noted that a newspaperman should never conduct an interview with his "victim" for the purpose of presenting a reasonable profile. According to Steinbeck all you might do is to conduct an interview with three persons who know the person under fire pretty well. Then you would likely get a sort of cross pollination from which you could draw a meaningful result, almost in the same manner that men of old used to derive "potions" from a concoction of herbs.

According to the Steinbeck method, Mr Bell is then several persons all bound into one. His secretary, Mrs Leonie Smith, with her delicate understanding eyes, says that her boss (still as chief administrator for external production) is a perfectionist and an unbelievably hard worker (already at his office by 7:30 and often probably still at work in his home until 2:00 am). He is also a "difficult person" when "tomorrow's work is not already done by yesterday." But he is still a fair person with whom you simply must run a straightforward path. "If he ever finds out that you have misled him it becomes extremely difficult to win back his confidence."

She pointed to his engagements book and shrugged her shoulders with a sigh. "Simply overfilled with them! Internal ones, foreign ones, meetings, conferences, symposia, reception of visitors and even visits. It is simply unvelievable."

#### People's Photos

Nevertheless, as Mrs Smith explained, Mr Bell remains a good family man (to be sguare the only "people's photo" in his office is that of the Bell family: His little wife Vita (born Van der Merwe) and his daughters Lynette (recently married) and Elrida. It is a known fact in ARMSCOR that Mr Bell will not accept a social invitation without at least his wife, and probably his daughters being invited as well (naturally until Lynette was still unmarried). We were given the following example (but let's leave names and places anonymous): A single invitation for "the bash of the year" was sent to him. The end result? Mr Bell stayed hom in his white house with the black roof and the white cement wall around it which boldly (but without much success) attempts to tone down the loud traffic noise of Park Street.

It is here in the sheltered area for the meat grill that Mr Fred Bell and his family can play around and communicate as a family on Sundays after church (among other things he was in the service of the Dutch Reformed Church of Bomberg and Sunnyside before his travels rendered this impossible). With his characteristic sense of humor which is always ready to burst through as it lies just under the surface at all times, just like the Free State's nut-grass, Mr Bell also talked about his titanic struggle to keep open the access driveway to 800 Park Street on Saturdays when the faithful converge on Lotus drive and park there. Mechanical aids such as "road under construction" have already been used, but with little success. Perhaps, in some special cases, you might hear about the unavoidable granting of 1 free hour at the Bell toilet to those who have been standing and suffering it out all afternoon by the cement posts of Loftus, as in the case when the cold Premier Grand Crux is stroked over a little child's tasty Vita-food.

#### A Man's Man

A man's man, therefore, as attested by the many awards on his own fireplace (e.g., the Star of South Africa, the Civil Standard, Commander) as well as by the admirers from the circles of difficult overseas armaments suppliers. A respected man no matter where he shows up. In spite of that erect military figure (about which Secretary Leonie Smith becomes lyrical) he has a modest taste for clothing ("You just have to excuse me; I had to wear the darker suit today, because the other is in the crycleaner"). A man who drives his own car even though an official driver is available. The red Mercedes is a "true friend of the family," has reasonably good mileage (cylinders?) and "good for a long time yet."

His little wife Vita: "What a beautiful woman!" noted Leonie. "Only 5 minutes in her company and you just fall in love with her. She has no affectations, no sharp tongue such as one sometimes encounters in high society women."

The only case of giving into "comfort" on the part of Mrs Vita Bell, who herself puts in a hard day's work as a librarian in Pretoria, is her white Alfa. At one time she and her husband were fond of races. The throb of a finely tuned-up engine continues to stay with her, perhaps more so than with her husband. He is the essentially "down to earth man" who works his own garden and like John Public likes to dig and pry into things and even replace the old house roof. It has also been said that, were it not for a black man or two the contents of the Bell household would have certainly been washed away and ruined some years ago when the Pretoria sky opened up in the course of the night slamming into a tarpaulin covered framework.

The last bit of comment came from the mother-in-law, Nellie van der Merwe, (daughter of one of our country's great prodigies--a genuine old time senator) and it was a la Steinbeck: "I have a son-in-law made of gold. No son of mine could have been better to me. As a widow I would have certainly been lonely at times, but not with God and Fred Bell."

#### ARMSCOR Progress Report

Pretoria PARATUS in Afrikaans Jul 82 p 52

[Text] The ARMSCOR personnel training system is esteemed so high that the private sector considers a member of ARMSCOR a very desirable "commodity." Nevertheless, the fact that personnel turnover at a senior engineering level (about 2 percent) is only a fraction of the turnover in industry in general speaks volumes for ARMSCOR's aura of job satisfaction. Personnel turnover at the jobs level is about 5 percent lower in general industry.

According to Mr Fred Bell, the chief executive administrator as of 1 July, "ARMSCOR's workers policy is a peaceful one, one of productivity and maintaining a low profile. We advocate a free trade union association and we are not afraid of good labor relations."

#### Road Ahead Mapped Out

Mr Fred Bell noted: "The arms boycott against us was actually a blessing in disguise and I am not putting this lightly. Since Harold Wilson's first partial boycott to the mandatory UN boycott, which was intended to leave the Republic of South Africa powerless, we were forced to adopt Hobson's Choice: No choice."

"Now, in the second half of 1982, the measures taken by our enemies (either for lack of information or for the purpose of seeking revenge, or other motives) have forced us to establish and set in motion an arms manufacturing industry of such dimensions and standing that the world's traditionally biggest arms manufacturers are looking at this industry with great respect."

"As the 10th biggest armaments manufacturers in the world we have already built up a rich heritage of skills, flexibility, refinement, cost effectiveness, personnel management, pride and confidence and we have been doing this since the 1960's when an extensive evaluation of our military situation was conducted. Thus, in the final instance (and perhaps the most important) the armaments industry's products inspire confidence in the consumer. It is especially rewarding to know with certainty that ARMSCOR is successfully coping with the threatening situation and the knowledge that the Boer still gets around is just as stimulating."

"During the years when we were buying just about everything from England, our country's ability to defend itself was being determined by the posture of deliveries. In reality we found ourselves driven into a crush-pen in which no self-respecting country wants to find itself."

"Over a period of less than 2 decades the screw was gradually tightened, until the mandatory arms boycott sealed up everything in 1977. If we had waited until then we would have been lost; however, providence determined that we could put to use whatever starting time we had. We were able to gradually intensify our efforts, refine and perfect them in a hurry. But in this respect we were not unique: Israel and Taiwan found themselves in exactly the same situation when their big supplier, the United States, also began to turn off its faucets."

"But our armaments industry did not undertake a frantic, irresponsible and unrestrained course. The weapons system which we developed, produced and made operational in a successful manner were determined by the threat staring us in the face. As an example of a weapons system which has drawn the attention of the world, I would like to mention our quite unique mine-resisting vehicles."

"I would want to say 'totally unique' but it is really not the case. However, there is no doubt at all that they have been combat tested and definitely proven superior."

Still another example of a Boer conceiving a scheme is to be found in our communications equipment. Please bear in mind that we must defend an enormous country. The distance from Pretoria to Windhoek is the same as the distance from London to Moscow. Communications equipment which should be suitable for such conditions had to be conceived, developed, put in production, and tested in combat conditions. Thereafter, the refinement process was undertaken in collaboration with the consumer--the South African Armed Forces."

"This brings us to a necessary element of armaments manufacturing: The close collaboration with the professional soldier. He is the one who has to resist the onslaught and therefore he is the one to set his requirements as ideally seen by him."

"ARMSCOR's contributions lie in determining whether there are sufficient times, funds and local capabilities for achieving the ideal thing. Also bear in mind that the stage of development is a risky one; therefore, close contact with the consumer (the South African armed forces) is of continuous and cardinal importance throughout. The technical and the operational must be consolidated in marriage. Leads derived back from the operational side can expose defects, but perfection is attainable through the refining process."

"Look at the Eland armored car story. We have now already gone over to the Mark VII. Refinement has resulted in great improvements on the appearance and on the power output. The Eland Mark VII is an entirely different product. It is infinitely superior to the first units which came out from our assembly installations."

Our portable radios now evidence only a related affinity with the first models with their specially developed batteries and antennas for local conditions. Our formidable attack vessels have likewise been improved. For instance, their decks have been reinforced to better withstand the plague of the deep sea. The troop carrier being used most often, namely the Buffalo, has been improved radically with respect to combat reliability by improvements on its body mountings, shock absorbers and whatever else there may be...and we could go on with the list."

"By the way of rounding things up let me express just two more thoughts: Our military equipment production industry has accepted the challenge and is winning. But we are not resting on our laurels, because we are striving for a degree of perfection which can lend strength to human ingenuity."

Mr Bell made it clear that the South African economy is in no way being dominated by the armaments production industry and the consequent dangers of imbalance. At present it is contributing only 4 percent to the gross industrial production. But in essence this contribution is harboring a healthy capitalistic seed and this becomes clear when ARMSCOR's policy towards its contractors (with their 60,000 workers) is analyzed.

#### Moral Duty

This policy makes thorough provisions for the element of profit; however, ARMSCOR insures a balance by controlling the ultimate price of the product. Between the initially stipulated price of the product and its ultimate manufacturing price the contractor is able to maneuver a greater profit by improved productivity. Moreover, the principle still remains that when an industrialist offers his services for a task at a high risk (perhaps involving a strategic item having a low frequency of application) ARMSCOR will accept the moral duty of making the project viable from the producer's (contractor) point of view and to keep it that way. In so doing ARMSCOR provides its dynamic input to the steadiness of the country's economy.

Naturally, in order to attain a certain capacity and to maintain it requires the highest level of administrative ability. It is no secret that we are exporting arms, but Mr Bell is not about to provide any details. He says: "Just write down that my short- and medium-range aim is still the successful penetration of the export market."

This position must be viewed within this perspective: South Africa is no "arms bag" or "bomb baron." We maintain moral and ethical standards. However, for a long time now, we have not been begging for crumbs from the rich's tables. We have learned hard lessons.

The main thing remains the protection of our country and of our people. For this we do not ask for anybody's approval...nor do we make excuses.

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CSO: 4701/105

UGANDA

BRIEFS

FEWER REFUGEES TO SUDAN--United Nations, Geneva, August 20--The number of Ugandan refugees crossing into Southern Sudan each day has dropped to about 200 from a peak of 900 at the beginning of the month, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. There are now about 150,000 Ugandans in Sudan, a UNHCR spokesman said today. (A.F.P.) [Text] [Paris AFRICA AFP in English No 2925, 20 Aug 82 p 20]

CSO: 4700/1810

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